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THE
BOMBAY QUARTERLY REVIEW.

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JANUARY,
1856.

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THE Projectors of the BOMBAY QUARTERLY REVIEW, on the completion of the first year of its existence, feel called upon to acknowledge the favorable reception it has met with from the public press in India, and some of the leading London Journals.

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NOTICES OF THE PRESS.

"This new *Bombay Quarterly* is a work of solid merit, as well as literary ability; the matter and the manner of the majority of its articles equal the average of our own Reviews. The notices of Kaye's Life of Metcalfe, and of the late Mr. Erskine's History of India under Baber, very skillfully extract the best matter of the books, add thereto some views or information of the writers, and present the whole in a terse and striking way by minds accustomed to historical studies. Thackeray's novels form a clever notice by an admirer of the great prose satirist; Mr. Anderson's compilation on the Annals of the early Factories furnishes a peg on which to hang an account of the English in India during the seventeenth century. An approach is made to topics of a more business-like character in a criticism of some Bombay Rules for the Examination of Junior Civil Servants, and the late Mr. Mackay's Report on Guzerat. The last is a keen exposition of Mackay's unconscious one-sidedness on Indian affairs, with an intimation that his Manchester employers have sent forth his first views without the qualifications which experience induced on many points, and of which change in opinion the reviewer seems to think Mr. Bright and his friends were fully informed. So far as regards variety of subjects and literary ability, this publication is very creditable to Bombay."—*London Spectator*.

"BOMBAY QUARTERLY REVIEW.—We have received the first number of a new periodical with the above title, published in the Capital of Western India. It is chiefly occupied with the discussion of Indian questions, which it handles in a candid and vigorous manner, but it is not intended to have an exclusively Oriental character. On the contrary, its conductor states that its columns shall be open to matter of universal interest, and in the present number there is a very able and judicious paper on Mr. Thackeray's Novels. Should the succeeding numbers equal in merit the one now before us, the spirited proprietors of the *Bombay Quarterly Review* will not have to complain of any want of success."—*London Morning Chronicle*.

"Bombay has started a *Quarterly Review*! The first number contains ably-written papers, principally on local subjects, by men who know what they are writing about; and if these are in earnest of what is to follow, the periodical will do good service in the work of amelioration."—*Chambers' Journal*.

"The intelligence, the public spirit, and the increasing importance of Western India are thought to have reached a point at which we must have a regular *Quarterly Review*. We recognise the demand, and accept the supply so far, as not unworthy of a higher intelligence and a better spirit than, as we are forced to think, generally prevail. *Video meliora*, however, we may say in view of this particular work; still more are we bound to add *proboscus*. The first article, though not the best written in the number, is by much the most weighty, and most calculated to excite controversy or at least discussion. The writer criticises Mr. Mackay's book in a somewhat severe, but we cannot say unkindly spirit. * * * * * We are sensible that this is an imperfect notice of a very elaborate article; but it is all that we can bestow upon it in the midst of the review of a Review. The article on Thackeray would be an ornament to any Review in any part of the world. It discloses a good appreciation of that fine talent,—so full of readiness and success under a show of cynicism and satire.

the concluding article is a long and very readable one on Mr. Kaye's 'Life and Correspondence of Lord Metcalfe.'—Metcalfe is the Model Civil Servant of India. His career is well sketched by the Reviewer, and not a word too much said in his praise. We have been informed, that this article is from the pen of one of that Service itself,—himself, we believe, known to his friends for not a few of those qualities of head and heart that so endeared Metcalfe while he lived, and with at least quite as ready a pen,—we need not wonder at the full and hearty conception which we have here, and with which for to-day we conclude."—*Bombay Gazette*.

"We have not as yet had leisure to bestow in our columns the attention which it deserves to the first number of the *Bombay Quarterly Review*, which we are free to confess very greatly surpasses the expectations we had formed of it, though these were far from humble. In point of the interest of the matter and elegance of the composition, the first number of the Review might fairly take its place amongst the English Quarterlies, and certainly greatly exceeds in attractiveness the average, if not the best, numbers of the Calcutta Quarterly, on which we have so frequently had occasion to bestow very warm commendations."—*Bombay Times*.

"The *Bombay Quarterly Review*, of which we have just received the first number, is fully equal in artistic merit to any periodical published in London, while in point of interest to the Indian reader it is far superior. The *Calcutta Review* never pretended to literature, but is content to turn out articles on Indian subjects, sometimes executed in a workmanlike manner, sometimes not, but always replete with valuable information. But the *Bombay Quarterly* takes higher ground.

We have in the present number an article on 'Thackeray's Novels,' which is a masterpiece of discriminative criticism. The Reviewer treats Thackeray as the 'Pre-Raphaelite' of novelists; he, the Reviewer, being evidently a Pre-Raphaelite himself. And he supports his theory so ingeniously that we regret that we have only room for the following passage.

The Review is 'Indian' enough for the most narrow-minded old Nabob among us, while for the palate of the 'general reader' it is most successfully salted by the Thackeray article.

We cannot conclude without expressing a hope, that the institution of this new *Quarterly* may give an upward impulse to the recently declining fortunes of Indian periodical literature. The *Calcutta Review* has been going down in popularity, and three vigorous attempts to establish Monthly Magazines in the North-West Provinces have signally failed. According to present appearances, Bombay is destined to become the Indian Athens.—*Delhi Gazette*.

"Limited as is our space, we can scarcely hope to render justice to the literary merits of the Review before us. The *Quarterly* of Western India has more than realized our most sanguine anticipations."—*Poona Observer*.

"The *Bombay Quarterly Review* has made such a good beginning that it cannot be expected to come to a bad end.

The first number contains six articles—sufficiently varied in subject and vigorous in execution. 'Mr. Mackay's Report on Gujarat' is the first. It is a careful performance, taking a very fair estimate of the value of the work, and therefore, we regret to say, not placing very much reliance upon it.

The article upon 'Thackeray's Novels' is the only literary article in the number, and in a literary sense, at any rate, it is far above the rest. The writer takes a new view of Mr. Thackeray, and one sufficiently near the truth to be worth something, apart from its novelty.

We fear that we have too far exhausted our own space and our readers' patience, to do more than glance at the remainder of the articles contained in this very satisfactory first number."—*Malabarite*.

"We proceed to lay before the readers of the *Athenaeum* our humble estimate of the *Bombay Review*. Much of it is a happy medium between a long and heavy Government despatch on the promotion of public works in some district one never saw—which people read and are interested in on principle—and the biography of a dull man by a clever author; in other words, the subjects are useful but ponderous, and the style in which they are rendered is good. Two of the articles—the English in Western India, and Lord Metcalfe—are written in such a manner as even to please that indiscriminating and dissatisfied animal—the general reader. We have first a review of the late Mr. Mackay's Reports on Gujarat.

The reviewer, while bearing ample testimony to Mr. Mackay's general character, accuses him of making untrustworthy, inaccurate, and insidious statements; that he theorized too much, and was not at all practical.

The article is well worth reading, as the arguments, from the point of view taken up by the writer, are ably stated. Next there is an agreeably-written criticism on Thackeray's novels, evincing a true appreciation of that great living writer, and a strong and healthy opinion of what constitutes good literature.

All the articles display high literary ability, and we have no doubt will, or rather have been, read with pleasure. We welcome the appearance of the new *Quarterly*; it will deservedly take a high position in Indian literature. On its own merits we are glad to see it, and heartily wish it success."—*Madras Athenaeum*.

"The *Bombay Quarterly Review* we must consider a decided success, as a literary adventure, and only hope its commercial returns are adequate to its merits. The third number, for July, exhibits no diminution of energy.

A professional article on the Light Cavalry of India will commend itself to military readers. The writer is anxious to see healed all the jealousies existing between the regular and irregular services.

The last article, on 'Soldiers, their Morality and Mortality,' is apparently from the pen which has already taken up the subject and kindred topics in a spirit—calm, kindly, and enlightened. We congratulate the Western Presidency on the excellence of its representative periodical."—*Lahore Chronicle*.

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THE

BOMBAY QUARTERLY REVIEW.

JANUARY, 1856.

ART. I.—THE DEVELOPMENT OF FLUVIAL RESOURCES.

Inundations of the Delta of the Mississippi. By CHARLES ELLET, Jun., Civil Engineer. Entered according to the Act of Congress in the year 1853, by Lippincott, Grambo, & Co., Philadelphia.

AMONG the pleasant hours we remember to have passed in India, were a few passed in the society of the author of "The Western World." It was during the spring of 1851 that we last saw Mr. Alexander Mackay. He was, at that time, prosecuting his inquiries into the obstacles which stand in the way of an increased growth of cotton in Guzerat. But while he labored very zealously—and, as we think, not so effectually as with more experience in Indian affairs he would have done—in the cause of his Manchester masters, his thoughts were not, nor could be, confined, even for a day, to the immediate subject of his researches. On the contrary they took daily, or more strictly, nightly flights, to the scenes in the United States where he had enjoyed his earlier youth, and to the scenes in England where he hoped to win the laurels of his riper years. We recollect how, one night in particular, he lay upon his couch exhausted in body, but refusing to sleep, and recapitulated his past, and anticipated his future career. Without being remarkably profound in any one department of science, his acquaintance with all topics of interest was sufficiently ready and minute to render his conversation both varied

and instructive. Upon the occasion to which we allude he commenced with a masterly sketch of the valley of the Mississippi ; its origin, its present condition, and its prospects. Then taking an excursion to Westminster he eagerly looked forward to a day—which for him was never to arrive—when he should tread the boards of **Parliament**. He mentioned one statesman's name with especial and affectionate regard, and in a manner which led those who heard him to imagine that he hoped to follow in that gentleman's steps towards colonial improvement. Finally, he returned to the theme of which he never seemed weary—the United States.

Those who have read "The Western World" will readily recal the following passage, extracted from that work, relative to the foundation which America has laid, both in the magnificent provisions of nature and the stupendous achievements of art, for future material greatness :—

"Her resources, in almost every point of view, are infinitely greater than any we possess. Look at her forests, her fertile valleys, and vast alluvial plains. Look at the variety of her productions, including most of those that are tropical, and all that are yielded by the temperate zone, and look at her mines teeming with coal, iron, lead, copper, and, as has just been discovered, with silver and gold. Look again at her enormous territory, and at the advantages she possesses for turning all her resources into account, in her magnificent systems of lakes and rivers ; in her extensive sea coasts ; in her numerous and excellent harbours ; and in her geographical position, presenting, as she does, a double front to the old World, or holding out, as it were, one hand to Asia, and the other to Europe. But such resources and advantages are only valuable when properly turned to account.
 * * * * If our resources, turned to good account, have made us what we are, what will be the fabric of material greatness which will yet spring from the ample development of resources thirty times as great ? If the industry of from twenty to thirty millions of people, with limited means, have raised England to her present pinnacle of greatness and glory, what will the industry of 150,000,000 yet effect in America, when brought to bear upon resources almost illimitable ? The continent will yet be Anglo-Saxon from Panama to Hudson's Bay. What Anglo-Saxons have done, circumstanced as we have been, is but a faint type of what Anglo-Saxons will yet do, working in far greater numbers, on a far more favorable field of operation."

Mr. Mackay's conversation upon the evening we refer to, was to this same effect. Upon that evening, too, a gentleman of great medical skill observed to us, that our friend was evidently in so rapid a consumption that he could not possibly survive another year. The prophecy was too true. But a few months had elapsed ere this gentleman chanced to be a fellow-passenger with Mr. Mackay, now broken down in health, and making the best of his way to England. The steam-vessel had not reached Aden when it became apparent that the invalid was

dying. On the afternoon before the vessel anchored, Mr. Mackay, who was sitting upon deck, felt the hand of death was upon him, and requested his friend to take him below.* His voice, says the latter, at all times sweet and winning, seemed to become even more gentle and persuasive as his death drew nigh. They carried him down to the cabin, and there, within a few hours, without a murmur—saying only “This is a sad scene!”—Alexander Mackay passed, in the arms of his friend, from the theatre of all his affections and all his hopes.

Thus we recal to mind one, whose death at thirty years of age was another instance of genius hurried out of life, just when about to start in the race with high excitement and ambition. Nor does this slight tribute to the memory of a man who so truly loved the New World, appear to us an inappropriate introduction to our more immediate theme, the volume named at the head of this paper, containing the views of Mr. Ellet on the overflows of the delta of the Mississippi and suggestions for their prevention.

These views were originally embodied in a report to the War Department of the United States, and published under orders of the Senate. The report was made by authority of an Act of Congress, directing the Secretary of War to institute such surveys and investigations as were necessary to the preparation of adequate plans for protecting the delta from inundations, and increasing the depth of the water on the bars at the mouths of the Mississippi.

Congress, sensible that the matter to be reported on related to a most difficult branch of the profession, and involved the comfort and pecuniary interest of a large number of citizens, did not consider itself bound to confide so important a duty to any particular Department, or officer of Government, but sought out the ablest practical engineer available, and authorised him to make such investigations as would enable him to devise and report suitable plans for accomplishing the purposes of the Congressional Act. Accordingly, they selected Mr. Ellet, a gentleman who had already communicated to the public, through the Transactions of the Smithsonian Institution, many bold and original views on the improvement of the Ohio—views which had in regard the maintenance of the navigation of this great river through the droughts of summer, by supplying water to its channel from artificial lakes and reservoirs to be constructed on its tributary streams; and which, though at first generally considered as wild and chimerical, had gradually won their way into the public confidence.

until they were advocated by many of the most prominent practical engineers of the country.

Doubtless, Congress proceeded in this important matter as became the Legislature of a great and free people. As unquestionably, they succeeded in placing the right man in the right place. Mr. Ellet states a startling truth with a natural and most agreeable boldness; mathematically demonstrates that it is a truth;—and then dares to test his principles in practice. At the same time the scheme proposed is so magnificent, the natural forces to be weighed and controlled so immense and overwhelming, that it is no subject of surprise if even the more enlightened public of the States received his propositions with caution and scepticism.

Mr. Ellet's arguments, revised and republished in one large quarto volume, occupy 364 pages. It were vain to attempt compressing anything approaching a faithful analysis of this mass of information within the narrow limits of our present paper. All that we can propose to ourselves is, therefore, to give a slight sketch of the matter to be operated upon, and of the instruments which Mr. Ellet considers as available for successful operation. And we shall, as far as possible, present this summary in the author's own language, which, we may premise, seems to us singularly clear and appropriate.* We trust that by so doing we may induce many, who are interested in the improvement of India, to consult for themselves a work which seems to us highly suggestive of means for improving the resources afforded by our great Indian rivers,—not only by streams which, like the Ganges, the Serawaddy, and the Indus, are navigable throughout the year, but by those which, like the Godavery, the Kistna, the Tombodia, and many others, are at one season the channels of a desolating flood, and then in a few weeks shrink to a thread of water, all but useless for all purposes of commerce. Every one who is interested in the agriculture of the alluvial plains of our great rivers, or in rendering them navigable, and the harbours at their mouths accessible, will find in Mr. Ellet's work a fund of accurate information on rivers similar in many respects to our rivers, and a store-house of practical suggestion for improvements gigantic in their scale and effects, and for the mode in which they may be effected.

This work confirms in a very striking manner some of the boldest views of one of the ablest and most enthusiastic of our practical reformers. But Mr. Ellet has this advantage over

* As this is professedly a summary, we have not considered it necessary to insert inverted commas. It has, however, been our endeavour, so far as possible, to write Mr. Ellet's own words into our summary.

Colonel Cotton, that many will receive without hesitation a fact or a proposition in the pages of an official report by a Civil Engineer to the United States' Senate, when they would question the fact and ridicule the proposition, if it were to come from the pen of the well-abused Colonel Cotton of the Madras Engineers. But to return to our summary. In the first place, then, Mr. Ellet remarks, that there are few studies which exhibit beneficent design in a more impressive form than that which unfolds the adaptation of the physical structure of the earth to the wants of man; and that, while the harmony of coloring and all that appertains to the beauty of structure speak to the eye and require no aid from science, the great features of the physical formation of the earth, the distribution of hills and mountain ranges, on which the clouds may break and condense into rain, the arrangement of the gentle plains that spread out from the base of each hill and mountain, until they intersect other plains which spread out from other hills and other mountains, and form channels at their intersection for the drainage of the surplus water shed from the adjacent slopes, the adaptation of these valleys by a happy combination of the dip towards the ocean, the area drained, and the development of the stream, to navigation, the wants of commerce, and the convenience of cultivated man—are studies of science, which require the aid of art and its improvements. Mr. Ellet goes on to particularise that there are few divisions of the earth which offer more beautiful illustrations of this adaptation of natural means to an obvious purpose, than the physical geography of that portion of the United States which lies between the great lakes and the Gulf of Mexico, and extends from the Atlantic to the Rocky Mountains.

From the summit of these mountains a great plain slopes gently to the East, along which flow all the streams that enter the lower Mississippi and the Gulf of Mexico; from the West another plain, of nearly equal extent, and equally gentle in its inclination, descends to the North, along which flow the northern tributaries of the Ohio and the Mississippi itself, until it unites with the great Missouri, flowing along the irregular line which marks the intersection of these vast surfaces; while another plain, descending from the summit of the Alleghany range, conveys the waters of Cumberland and Tennessee, and all the southern tributaries of the Ohio, and intersects the great plain from the North in the valley of the Ohio, and the greater plain from the West in the valley of the lower Mississippi.

The intersection of the great slopes from the South and East with those from the North and West near the confluence of the Mississippi, Missouri, and Ohio, creates what deserves to be regarded as a geographical centre of this remarkable region, a position which is rapidly becoming, from causes depending almost entirely upon its physical geography, the centre of commerce, wealth, and population of the whole North American Continent.

Such is the physical configuration and geographical value of the region drained by the Mississippi and its tributaries—a region containing 1,226,600 square miles, equal to about one third of all Europe, wherein, but a century ago, the voice of man was, comparatively writing, seldom heard; wherein, at the present hour, are thriving millions of the most energetic and civilised human beings extant; and wherein, if population shall continue to increase in proportion to its actual increase during the past thirty years, there will be found fifty millions of mankind before the close of the current century.

And it was to mitigate the evils of the overflows of the delta of this river system, more frequent and extensive in recent than in former times, that Mr. Ellet submitted his report and plans. The limits of this delta have been variously stated. Some persons have designated as the delta all that formation of soil through which the Mississippi now flows, and which has been raised above the sea by the river from the highlands. But since there is no evidence that the Gulf of Mexico, under the present adjustment of land and water, ever washed the base of the hills north of the Ohio, and since the assumption of this fact involves the further assumption that there existed at some remote period a cataract or rapids, having a descent greater than the pitch of Niagara, somewhere above the mouth of the Ohio, our author discards this theory as unsupported by demonstration, and adopts, although simply for the convenience of assigning some limit to the field of his investigation, the mouth of the Ohio as the head of the delta.

So limited, the delta may be considered as a great plain about 500 miles long, and from 30 to 150 miles broad, with an uniform slope in the direction of its length of about eight inches a mile. It is enclosed on its East and West by a line of bluffs of its height and direction, and contains nearly 5000 square —or one-third more than the whole area of Scotland.

This plain has been formed from the material brought down from the uplands by the Mississippi and its tributaries. The river has thus made its own bed, and now winds along it, more than

doubling its length by its flexures, and having an average descent high water of $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches per mile.

In the summer and autumn, when the river is low, the surface of the Mississippi is depressed at the head of the delta about 40 feet, and, as we approach New Orleans, twenty feet below the top of its banks. It then flows along sluggishly in a trench about 3,000 feet wide, 75 feet deep at the head, and 120 feet at the foot; while in portions the depth exceeds 180 feet. But when the autumnal rains set in, the river usually rises until the month of May, when it fills up its channel, overflows its banks and spreads many miles over the low lands to the right and left of its trench.

This leads to the consideration of another important feature in the characteristics of this great stream. The Mississippi bears along at all times, but especially in the periods of flood, a vast amount of earthy matter suspended in its waters, which the current is able to carry forward so long as the river is confined to its channel. But when the water overflows the banks, its velocity is checked, and it immediately deposits the heaviest particles which it has transported, and leaves them upon the borders. As the water continues to spread further from the banks, it continues to let down more and more of the suspended material, the heaviest particles being deposited nearer to the edge of the stream, and the finest clay being conveyed to positions most remote from the banks. The consequence is that the borders of the river, which received the first and heaviest deposits, are raised higher above the general level of the plain than the soil which is more remote, and that, while the plain of the delta dips towards the sea at the rate of eight inches per mile, the soil adjacent to the banks slopes off at right angles to the course of the river into the interior, for five or six miles, at the rate of three or four feet per mile.

One effect of this configuration is, that in times of flood the surface of the Mississippi is 18 or 20 feet higher than the level of a great part of the actual delta, and that, at low water, its surface is found in the very lowest depression of the delta; so that all the lateral streams and adjacent low grounds have a natural drainage towards its channel.

The delta of the Mississippi was, therefore, in its natural condition, at high water, a vast inundated tract, through the lowest depression of which might be traced the channel of the river, absorbing numerous tributaries in its course, each of which found its way to the common recipient along the most depressed portions of the adjacent lowlands.

In times of great and general flood, there was, then, but an inconsiderable area of land elevated above the water: but as the river fell, the course of its channel might be defined by two narrow strips of soil, rising in parallel belts above the surface, from which, as the water continued to recede, there would become gradually visible the parallel borders of the tributaries, and their countless bayous, forming a double network of natural embankments, with rivers of various dimensions inclosed between them, over the whole area of the delta.

Such were the natural conditions, during the successive seasons of the year, of the Mississippi Valley. But when men came and settled along its banks, they observed that the lands immediately on the borders of the river were extremely rich, and they commenced accordingly to cultivate them. Since, however, all these lands were subject to inundation during the high floods of the river, it became imperative on the settlers to guard them by artificial embankments, commonly called *levées*, or "bunds" as they would be called in Bengal, Sind, and other parts of India. By degrees these embankments extended the borders not only of the Mississippi, but of its tributaries and outlets, to the effect that the water which, under natural conditions, had formerly been allowed to spread over many thousand square miles of low lands, became more and more confined to the immediate channel of the river, and was therefore, compelled to rise higher and flow faster, until, under the increased power of the current, it should have time to excavate a wider and deeper trench to give vent to the increased volume which it had to convey.

In this extension of embankments, then, was discovered one, and this the principal cause of the greater frequency and more alarming character of the Mississippi floods during recent years. But this was by no means the sole cause. On the contrary, there were found to exist three other causes, two of which were, like the embankments, artificial, and the third natural.

The two artificial causes were—first, the extension of cultivation throughout the valley, especially in its upper portion, by which the evaporation is in the aggregate diminished, the drainage obviously increased, and the floods hurried forward more rapidly into the country below; second, "cut-offs"—or artificial channels cut across the neck formed by the bend of the river—by which the distance traversed by the stream is shortened, its slope and velocity increased, and the water consequently brought down more rapidly from the country above, and precipitated more rapidly upon the country below. And.

third, the natural cause consisted in the gradual progress of the delta into the sea, by which the course of the river, at its embouchure, is lengthened, the slope and velocity therefore diminished, and the water consequently thrown back upon the lands above.

And it was further discovered that all of the causes were likely to be progressive, and that the future floods throughout the length and breadth of the delta, and along the great streams tributary to the Mississippi, would rise higher and higher, as society should spread over the Upper States, as population adjacent to the river should increase, and the inundated low lands increase in value. For as population should increase, fresh swamps would be drained, new embankments would be constructed, new drains would be opened, old outlets would be struck off, until the immense volume of water, wholly excluded from its natural reservoirs on the upper portion of the valley, should be poured down upon Louisiana. But this exclusion of water from the higher lands was absolutely necessary, not only from the industrial development of that portion of the country, but the interest of the States generally demanded the speedy reclamation of the swamps. At the same time this work, so tending to further the public good, and to relieve the country above, involved ruin upon the country below.

The great problem to be solved, then, was—how to protect this lower country—Louisiana—from the deluge created by the artificial improvements which are accelerating the drainage of the prairies, and diverting the collected waters from their natural course through the low lands; and secondly, to combine this object with some measure of State legislation, rendering the embankments, which at present are very liable to breaches or crevasses, secure, thereby obviating the disasters incident to these crevasses, and preventing the overflow of the low grounds or swamp lands generally—lands which are estimated to cover nearly 40,000 square miles.

To solve this problem it was evidently necessary to estimate, with some degree of precision, the nature of the forces to be coped with; to analyse with great accuracy the degree in, and means by, which the four causes above enumerated tend to accelerate the injurious effects of these forces; and to adapt remedies proportioned to these causes and forces.

This, accordingly, Mr. Ellet proceeds to do. He first analyses the forces to be dealt with, by a series of observations upon the width, depth, velocity, the changes and irregularities, of the

Mississippi, upon the laws of its drainage, upon its crevasses, and upon the volume of water discharged by it.

He calculates that the river through the delta varies in width from 2,200 feet to 5,000 feet, and that about 3,300 feet should be used as a mean expression for the average of the width.

From below the Arkansas the mid-channel sometimes diminishes to less than 90 feet depth, and sometimes rises to more than 180 feet. But the average depth, in mid-channel way, from Nicksbury down to New Orleans, is, at high water, about 115 feet.

The result of numerous observations shows the average surface velocity in the centre of the river, at high water, to be about seven feet per second, or nearly five miles an hour, with occasional increases of velocity to seven miles an hour. But in the course of his investigations it became incumbent upon Mr. Ellet to discover the mean velocity of the whole mass of the river. For this purpose, lines of different lengths were procured, and so loaded that the lower end would sink, while the upper end, and the load at the lower, would be supported by a float on the surface; a line thus prepared was thrown into the river where the depth had been previously ascertained, and when straightened out by the weight below, a surface float was placed alongside of the one which supported the line, and allowed to start from a drifting boat, with the same velocity. These floats were kept together until they were carefully timed as they passed a range previously established on the shores. They were then successively timed again as they passed a second parallel range established five hundred feet lower down the river. So far as these experiments go they lead to the conclusion that the mean velocity of the Mississippi, instead of being less, is in fact about 2 per cent. greater than the mean surface velocity,—a result which does not sustain the formulæ published by Du Buat, De Prony, and other standard authorities on the laws which govern fluids in motion.

Mr. Ellet's experiments led him to the conclusion that the velocity of the water near the surface is retarded by its contact with the atmosphere. But the calculations take no account of those under-currents which, especially below the salient angles of the shores where eddies occur, produce great local disturbance of the water.

Mr. Ellet attributes the local changes and irregularities to the construction of embankments, to breaches in these embankments, to the bends of the river, to the wind, and to the smaller tributaries. For, says he, a new levée which excludes the water

from a large area of swamp previously filled by the overflows, will cause an engorgement of the stream at that point, and a consequent rise, which will extend over a considerable space above and below the new work,—while a crevasse will frequently produce a material depression at the point where it occurs. The bends of the river, again, cause its surface to assume a distorted shape. When the water impinges against the concave shore of the bend, its surface rises to the height due to the velocity of impact. And thus will be occasioned local changes of more than twelve inches in the height of equal floods. The wind is another fruitful source of irregularities. The writer announces himself to have once had an opportunity of detecting a variation on the surface of more than six inches in twenty miles, produced entirely by a continued but moderate breeze. And he adds that the same wind will increase the height of a flood in one bend while it reduces its height in another; so that while the flood of a given point is even with the flood of a previous year, it may be found at some few miles distant, under circumstances precisely similar in other respects, many inches higher or lower than the mark of the previous flood. Finally the smaller tributaries are also, frequently, the cause of such irregularities. A very inconsiderable stream, discharging suddenly for a few days, or hours even, a large volume into a full river, will produce a natural elevation as well above as below the mouth of the tributary.

It would appear that serious difficulties were encountered in framing formulæ exhibiting the relations between the depths, slopes, and velocities of the Mississippi and its tributaries. The movements of these volumes of water are remarkable, and the laws of their drainage required to be carefully studied. The river descends on an average slope of about three and a quarter inches per mile, and the mean velocity of its current is of course due to that slope. Yet it not unfrequently happens that, while the mass of the water which its channel bears is sweeping to the South at a speed of four or five miles per hour, the water next the shore is running to the North, at a speed of one or two miles per hour. Again, the water may be found running rapidly up stream on one side of the river, while sweeping with even greater rapidity down stream, on the other side.

It is obvious, therefore, that no single or merely local observation on the rate of descent of the stream could be depended on for the determination of that element of an equation. The apparent slope is at every point affected by the bends of the river, and the centrifugal force acquired by the water in sweeping round.

curves, and by the eddies which form on the opposite side, under the salient angles.

The surface of the river is not, therefore, a *plain*, but a peculiarly complicated and warped surface, varying from point to point, and inclining alternately from side to side. And to neutralise in some degree the effect of such variations on the lateral measurements of the slopes, levels and soundings were taken, measurements made and compared, and a formula was then sought which should express the maximum or central velocities at the surface, in terms of the slope and maximum depths of each of these various streams.

It was further ascertained that the mean velocity of a great river in a straight channel, is about 80 per cent. of its maximum velocity: therefore eight-tenths of the central surface velocity is the approximate mean velocity of the whole section, which, being multiplied into the area of the section, in feet, will show the approximate discharge in cubic feet.

The result of his continued investigation upon drainage is, that Mr. Ellet considers 35,000 cubic feet per second as the average of the increased volume which he estimates to be needed to raise the surface of the lower Mississippi one foot in extreme high water.

The crevasses are the means of large volumes of water escaping, and of heavy injuries and calamities being sustained by the population of the valley. At high water the surface of the river is from five to seven feet above the surface of the cultivated fields on its borders, and the water is prevented from sweeping over these fields by the artificial embankments, which now extend, in almost continuous lines, on both sides of the river, for a distance of about 600 miles. No care can ever be sufficient to guard against overflows; breaches are unavoidable, and are indeed the necessary safety-valves for the escape of the surplus water. The flood usually rises to a level not more than twelve inches below the tops of the embankments, and five feet above the general surface of the ground immediately behind the embankments. The ground itself slopes downwards at the rate of three or four feet per mile from the *levée* to the swamps, which are from 15 or 25 feet below the high water surface of the river.

When therefore an embankment gives way, the water rushes through the breach with a velocity due to the depth of the column and the slope of the plain. Thus, with a depth of 6 feet and a slope of 3 feet per mile,—numbers corresponding with the circumstances of an actual measurement made in 1850,—the velocity of

the current passing into the fields will be at the surface 4.30 feet per second; and the breach having an area of about 43,500 square feet, will discharge 149,600 cubic feet per second.

In brief, our author estimates that the discharge of all the crevasses between the mouth of the Red River and a point eleven miles below New Orleans, at the time of the extreme high water of 1851, was 100,800 cubic feet per second, or about 10 per cent. of the total discharge of the Mississippi at New Orleans.

By a measurement made on the 16th April 1851, when the surface of the river had fallen 6 inches, the volume discharged at a point 11 miles below New Orleans was found to be 979,240 cubic feet per second, being more than five times the average discharge of the Ganges as estimated by Rennell.

But, having thus briefly estimated the forces to be dealt with, Mr. Ellet declares it not to be his intention to enter into a minute discussion of the uninteresting details of the recent floods of the Mississippi. The great object before him is to contrive measures for the protection of the delta from overflow. And the solution of this problem turns upon other and greater elements, which he accordingly proceeds to discuss.

In view to this practical result, his first step is to determine with certainty the prominent causes of the increasing inundations, and to obtain the means of estimating correctly the respective values of such causes.

These causes he found to be, as we before stated, with one exception, *artificial*. And since this was the case, it appeared to him not unreasonable to look for relief to artificial appliances.

But there was one cause belonging to the class of *natural* causes, and this exception he first disposes of. It lies in the prolongation of the delta. The Mississippi having gradually risen upon the bed formed by its own deposits, the deposit has been gradually pushed out into the sea, and thus the slope of the river has been progressively diminished. And as the slope of the plane has diminished, the surface of the river has risen, and the bottom, of course, has also been in like manner elevated. In fact, it is elevation of the bed which has caused the rise of the surface. There are no accurate data available for calculating the amount of annual deposits brought down by the current. But assuming that the mean bulk of sedimentary matter transported by this river, when solidified into coherent earth, is about the 3,000th part of the volume of the water in which it is suspended, and further assuming that the discharge of the Mississippi and its natural

outlets is annually about 21,000,000,000,000 cubic feet, Mr. Ellet arrives at the conclusion that the annual deposit of sediment, or the volume annually left in the gulf at or near the mouth of the Mississippi, is about 7,000,000,000 cubic feet.

It is the popular belief that the bed of the Mississippi is *rising*, and to this assumed cause is not unfrequently attributed the constantly-increasing height required for the protecting levées. But this belief can be traced to no better evidence than the fact that certain points, which formerly exhibited deep soundings, have subsequently become shallower,—a circumstance which is attributable altogether to the shifting nature of the shores and bottom of the river. As consequences of the changing and moveable character of the soil through which the Mississippi flows, shores which are at one period curved, subsequently become salient; banks that at one time wash and cave in, at a later date fill up; places which, during one period, are gradually growing deeper, at another become less deep, and to the sounding-line indicate an elevation of the bottom. There is, in fact, no evidence of any change in the general level of the river's bed beyond what may be inferred from the evident prolongation of the delta, the lengthening out of the course of the stream, and the consequent diminution of the plane of descent. But this elevation of the bed is not indicated by any increased depth of the stream, though it must of necessity occasion a corresponding elevation of the surface. Any increase in the height of the floods, produced by a given body of water discharged in a given time, beyond what may be justly attributed to this extension of the delta, must, therefore, be sought in other adequate causes.

But it is not to effects like those consequent upon the prolongation of the peninsula at the mouth of the delta that Mr. Ellet ascribes the increasing height of the floods. On the contrary, while admitting that in the course of twenty centuries the levées required to protect the city of New Orleans may, in consequence of the delta prolongation, require to be considerably increased in height, he attributes those evils which at this moment threaten the prosperity and existence of Lower Louisiana, the worst effects of which are likely to be witnessed by men now living, to the labours of man, long and still rigorously engaged in drawing the waters, by various processes, more rapidly from the country above, and destroying those natural reservoirs which originally protected the country below.

Accordingly, he proceeds to consider the artificial causes of flood, which he details as follows:—Cut-offs, effects of cultiva-

tion, areas drained by the Mississippi and its tributaries, and extension of the levées and its effects.

In regard of the "cut-offs," Mr. Ellet admits that men of science have denied and still contest the fact of their being among the causes of the increasing inundations. For, say they, by shortening the channel and cutting off the bends of the river, the velocity of the current will be increased, the channel scoured out wider and deeper, the floods conveyed more rapidly to the sea, and the surface, therefore, reduced. All this our author allows as perfectly true, but he confutes the practical conclusion. He allows it to be true that by cutting off a given bend the flood will be hastened forward, and a greater volume will, therefore, be discharged through the channel in a given time. But, he adds, it will not be discharged directly into the sea, and thus relieve the river of its burden. On the contrary, the water will be drawn more rapidly from the river above the bend, and the level of the surface there will be reduced ; *but it will be precipitated more rapidly into the river below the bend*, and the surface there will be necessarily raised.

It should seem that the Louisiana State has already suffered from neglecting this latter consideration. A turn of the river, named the Racoonie Bend, was in 1848 cut off, and the consequence was, the heights of the floods *above* the bend, from whence the water was more rapidly drawn, were reduced, but they were increased *below* the bend, where it was more rapidly thrown.

The reason, continues Mr. Ellet, in favor of shortening the channel would have been sound, if it had been proposed to cut off a part of the *lower portions of the river*, and admit the water into the gulf at some point further from the sea than its present mouths. But a very different state of facts results from cutting off a bend of the river in the upper portions of its course. In this latter case, the water, at the moment when the cut is made, rushes through the artificial opening with a speed due to its descent and to the depth of the new channel. But a very few days suffice to wear away the soft material which confines the water, and the reach of the river alone is rapidly drained off in some degree by the increased descent of the surface, and discharged into the reach below.

The writer attributes the prevailing opinion in favor of cut-offs to the interests of those who depend on navigation, to the fact that those lands *above* a new cut-off are thereby rendered less subject to inundation than they were before ; and to the circumstance of

their being an *improvement*, which, while it is in truth of the most dangerous description, can nevertheless be accomplished easily, and without skill.

Altogether, then, our author concludes by asserting that the increase of the velocity of the current below the cut-off, in virtue of the reduction of the velocity of the channel, cannot prevent the increase of the floods by giving more rapid vent to the water, —for this acceleration is itself only a consequence of the increased elevation of the surface produced by the additional supply.

But among the artificial causes, it is, says our author, decidedly necessary to include the effects of cultivation, and the increased discharge of water due to the destruction of the timber. It is indeed reasonable to suppose that the removal of the fresh growth, and the rank vegetation of the virgin soil, will cause the slopes to shed the rain more rapidly out of the valleys, and thus produce more sudden and more violent floods than were observed of old. At the same time it is not to be overlooked, that the removal of the timber gives the sun's rays more direct access to the earth, and thus promotes an increase of evaporation. This increase is, of course, at the expense of the drainage. Therefore, the effect of clearing the soil is to develop two opposite and compensating influences. But it cannot be doubted that, as a rule, the result of these influences will, in the aggregate, be in favor of a great increase of the discharge of the streams, and a material reduction of the evaporation.

It may be generally asserted that the effect of cultivation is to increase the evaporation in the summer months, and thus reduce the summer drainage, and to hasten and augment the drainage in the winter months, and consequently increase the height and power of the floods ; in other words, to make the water lower in the summer and fall, and the floods higher in the winter and spring.

In view to exhibiting in a clearer light this effect of cultivation upon flood, Mr. Ellet inserts a table of the areas drained by the tributaries of the Mississippi, or we would prefer to call it, on account of its extent of drainage, the Missouri river.

This table results in showing an aggregate drainage of 1,226,600 square miles. And supposing that by reason of the tillage of the prairies, the influence of vegetable growth, or the better drainage of the fields, out of the forty inches of rain annually falling, two-fifths of an inch or nearly one per cent. of the whole should be discharged into the Mississippi in the course of 60 days of flood, over and above the present average discharge ; and supposing further that this slight increase of the total

discharge were distributed uniformly over the whole period of 60 days of high water, it would require that the channel of the river should be competent to give vent to an increased volume equal to 220,000 cubic feet per second. If this increased volume should be retained within the channel by levées, these levées would require to be raised six feet higher than the tops of the present embankments. This result may assist the mind in forming some estimate of the consequences which are opening from the extension of society over the yet unpeopled *West*, and the cultivation of the vast territory which is drained by the Missouri and its tributaries.

But the main and prominent cause to which the increase of flood is attributable is—the *extension of the levées*. These are private works, constructed and kept up almost altogether by the individual proprietors of the river front. The security of the country depends, therefore, on the vigilance, providence, and good judgment of, perhaps, five thousand or ten thousand individuals. At first, but a frail and low embankment was sufficient to protect the crops from a river which then seldom overflowed its banks at a height of more than a few miles. But *pari passu* with the progress of society, these levées were extended from the lowest points of tillable land near the gulf, until the mouth of the Arkansas. They were originally commenced for local purposes, but more recently they have been planned with the intention to shut the water out from the swamps on each side of the river for a distance of about 700 miles, or estimating both shores, fourteen hundred miles. In the progress of extending the levées, no regard has been had to the “bayous,” or natural outlets through which the river, in its overstrained condition, vented a large portion of surplus water. These outlets have, on the contrary, with few exceptions, all been stopped up. Consequently, that portion of the flood which these openings allowed to pass into the great reservoirs of the delta, has been excluded from them, and is now forced, when the levées stand firm, to flow between the artificial banks down the main channel.

It will be readily perceived how this compression of that surplus water which, in the original condition of the stream, spread over a width of fifty or a hundred miles of inundated country, within a channel only half a mile in breadth, will cause the flood to rise higher and flow faster, until the additional volume discharged by the channel becomes equal to that which was before discharged by the bayous into the swamp.

The natural suggestion in this state of things, would, of course,

be to relieve the river by restoring its original condition; in other words, by re-opening its closed-up outlets, and again allowing the water to pass out through its natural vents.

But this is now wholly impracticable. These bayous are all types of the Mississippi itself. They originally received their supply of water altogether from that river, and in extreme floods were subject, like the river, to overflow their borders. These overflows left a deposit, of narrow breadth, parallel with the channels of the bayous, and limited in the rear by the swamps. These narrow strips of elevated soil were arable, and offered attractions to industry second only to the beautiful borders of the parent stream, and they have consequently all been occupied, subdued, and are now often highly improved. The levées, which have been thrown across the mouths of the bayous, now serve to protect the plantations on their ancient borders from the inroads of the Mississippi. To open them again would lead to the certain and immediate destruction of great interests which have grown up along the outlets, and at the same time would prevent the possibility of reclaiming the swamps themselves, which it has become an object of national and State policy to redeem.

This, then, constitutes the complicated difficulty of the problem to be solved:—that while the volume of the flood is cut off from its natural reservoirs, and while its being so cut off is requisite for the public good and safety, the process on its present extended and extending scale involves the ruin of the lower delta. And as these levées or embankments so cutting the flood off are destined to trail along the whole delta, wherever there is inundated land to reclaim, and as, moreover, the river so confined between the levées must continue to rise until it obtains depth and velocity sufficient for its discharge through the channel, or until the levées shall break, society can hope for no relief from the unassisted enlargement of the channel, or from anything but immediate efforts to give *lateral vent to the water or to restrain it by appropriate works.*

Thus, having laid down these facts, Mr. Ellet proceeds to point out the physical remedies which may be applied, leaving the question, upon whom the weight shall fall to repair the evil, to the wisdom of Congress.

To persons unacquainted with the peculiar formation of the delta of the Mississippi, or of other similar rivers, and especially to those who are unused to the measurement and contemplation of forces, the question of *absolute practicability* will naturally occur, when it is proposed to control and regulate the flow of a vast river which is known to drain 785,000,000 acres, and discharge through

its channel the floods produced by the melted snows of the Rocky Mountains and those of the Alleghany, together with the surplus water of hundreds of tributaries in the intervening valleys.

Nevertheless, repeats our author, it is not unreasonable to assume, that if it be within the power of individuals so to control the waters as to add to the height and violence of the river, it will be equally within the power of the Government to reduce its force and moderate its velocity. These operations would, indeed, involve no serious difficulty, if the object were limited to relieving the country from the floods which are *now felt*. Outlets could be made in Lower Louisiana, and the levées be strengthened along the coast, to such an extent that the most ample protection would be afforded. But the real and difficult problem is to guard against those artificial floods which are annually increasing, by means of some counteracting artificial expedients.

With a view of deciding this problem, Mr. Ellet goes on to compare the weight of water discharged by the river with those ordinary powers which are directed by men. He affirms that the standing armies of Europe are at this day sufficient, without the aid of science, and almost without the use of machinery, to *bale out* the floods; that the steam power actually employed in navigating the Mississippi and its tributary streams is adequate to the raising of *all the water discharged by the river and its outlets*, at the moment when their discharge is greatest, to a height of about 4½ feet; that to reduce their surfaces, at a point below the mouth of Red River, ten feet, would require only 16,666 horses, being a power equivalent to that of the engines of about forty-two steam-boats of the average size of those engaged in the navigation of the Western waters.

But, he continues, while it may be well to show that it is within the power of society to restrain these floods, by mere muscular strength, by steam power, or by a dead lift, it is unnecessary to pursue that line of inquiry, for the great volumes of the Mississippi floods may be discharged directly into the sea, by merely removing a portion of the artificial embankments which now confine them to their river; or the floods may be controlled by retaining a portion of the water in the valleys above, until it may pass tranquilly to the ocean without injury to the country below. And the simple processes by which these desirable results may be arrived at, are capable, further, of being carried on simultaneously and in harmony one with another.

They are thus enumerated :—

First,—Better, higher, and stronger levées in Lower Louisiana,

and more efficient surveillance,—a local measure, but one requiring State legislation and official execution and discipline.

Second,—The prevention of additional cut-offs,—a restraint which may call for national legislation, or possibly judicial interference, to prohibit the States and individuals above from deluging the country below.

Third,—The formation of an outlet of the greatest attainable capacity, from the Mississippi to the head of Lake Borgne, with a view, if possible, to convert it ultimately into the main channel of the river.

Fourth,—The enlargement of the Bayou Plaquemine, for the purpose of giving prompt relief to that part of the coast which now suffers most from the floods, viz., to the borders of the Mississippi from above Baton Rouge to New Orleans.

Fifth,—The enlargement of the channel of the Atchafalaya, for the purpose of extending relief higher up the coast, and conveying to the sea, by an independent passage, the discharge from Red River and the Washita.

Sixth,—The creation of great artificial *reservoirs*, and the increase of the capacity of the lakes on the distant tributaries, by placing dams across these outlets, with apertures sufficient for their uniform discharge, so as to retain a portion of the water above until the floods have subsided below. It is proposed by this process to compensate, in some degree, for the loss of those natural reservoirs which have been and are yet to be destroyed by drainage, clearance, and extended cultivation in the upper districts, and by the “*levées*” lower down, and, at the same time, and by the same expedient, to improve the navigation of all the great tributaries of the Mississippi, while affording relief to the suffering and injured population of the delta.

It is not our intention to attempt to follow Mr. Ellet through the long discussion into which he enters relative to the foregoing means of preventing inundations. We shall not do more than refer the reader to the pages in which the details of the argument are distributed under the headings of “*Outlets in general*”; “*Outlets below New Orleans*”; “*Enlargement of the Plaquemine Bayou*”; “*Enlargement and Discharge of the Atchafalaya*”; “*Outlet into Lake Pontchartrain*”; “*Outlet at the Mouth of the Arkansas*”; “*Consideration of Bayou Manchac, and of the La Fourche*”; “*Prevention of Cut-offs*”; “*Protection by Levées*”; and “*Reservoirs.*”

It is sufficient for us to summarise by stating that after a most minute, and, as we think, satisfactory analysis of the question, he

arrives at the conclusion that, while it is necessary to take prompt measures to prevent *cut-offs* in future, this preventive measure will not relieve from present suffering, but will serve only to protect the river coast against one prominent cause to which we may look for an increase of future local inundations.

That there exist great obstacles in the way of obtaining adequate relief from the plan of *outlets alone*; because the amount of relief possible of attainment by this process will be limited by the destruction that may be produced in the districts upon which the diverted flood will be thrown.

That as regards *levées*,—after mostly embankments shall have been constructed in the rear of the present *levées*, and all the water that can be reasonably discharged by outlets has been drawn off through appropriate vents,—these expedients must still be regarded as mere palliatives, limited in their application to the lower part of the delta, and even then only warding off, and postponing for a season, results which they cannot permanently prevent.

And that a comprehensive view of this great subject induces a conviction that, after exhausting all other means which art supplies for relief, it will be necessary, in order to assure the protection of the whole delta from overflow, compatibly with the reclamation of swamps, to construct *new reservoirs* in the *hilly country*, at the *sources* of the Mississippi and its tributaries, there to hold back a portion of the surplus water, and act as substitutes for those reservoirs which are thrown out of use in the low lands by the innovation of society.

Nine reservoirs, each of 110 feet deep, and covering seven square miles, would reduce the floods twelve inches for a space of 60 days; and these reservoirs would retain, moreover, water enough to maintain the navigation of as many of the most valuable rivers as flow into the Mississippi from the East.

We would particularly recommend Mr. Ellet's observations on this subject to the attention of our Indian readers. The expedient is more particularly applicable to our Peninsula. The magnitude of the works proposed would not appal the imaginations even of the most conservative natives. They would be, in fact, just such works as in every province and in every age he has been used to consider the appropriate legacy left to posterity by a good and powerful ruler; and we have in some parts of the country done just sufficient to show that such reservoirs as Mr. Ellet proposes are not beyond the skill of such amateur engineers as Colonel Dixon, nor the resources of an Indian budget.

But to return to the Mississippi. As this measure of making great reservoirs in the high lands—although alone of efficiency to secure the whole delta—has yet to pass through the ordeal of public investigation, and to acquire, as a preliminary even to survey, the confidence, leisure, and action of Congress, Mr. Ellet recommends an application, in the mean time, of the power and resources, whether national or local, to the preservation from inundation, by all the other means detailed in his report, and which he recapitulates in the following terms :—

I. The immediate organisation of a proper system for the construction and maintenance of the levées of Lower Louisiana, under the direct authority and control of the State; that a new or guard line of levées be made—commencing at the mouth of Red River and extending down to the vicinity of Donaldsonville, above eighty miles above New Orleans, on both shores—of sufficient width at top for an ample roadway or railway track, and at least six feet above the highest flood which has been witnessed at the points where the levée is to be built.

II. That simultaneously with the commencement of these new levées, there be formed a new outlet from the Mississippi into Lake Borgue, about ten miles below New Orleans, to relieve the river at that point, and reduce its level there as nearly as possible to the level of the gulf.

III. That, without any delay, measures be adopted to promote the enlargement of the Bayou Plaquemine, so as to relieve the river in that neighbourhood of the increasing pressure of the floods which will be produced when the water which now escapes through the crevasses is confined by the stronger levées recommended to be raised.

IV. That, simultaneously with the formation of the safety-valves below, and the construction of a guard levée, the necessary steps be taken to encourage the enlargement of the Atchafalaya, by clearing off and cultivating its borders, strengthening the channel, and undermining the salient angles of the shores which it is desirable to remove.

We regret that our limits do not admit of our entering upon any review of Mr. Ellet's reflections on the bars at the mouths of the Mississippi. These reflections, originally submitted to the War Department of the States in the form of a separate report, are appended to the Inundation Report in the present volume, and might with great advantage be studied by all who are interested in the improvement of our harbours from Kurrachee round to Coringa.

In conclusion, it is impossible to rise from a perusal of the work we have thus very inadequately summarised without a conviction of the grandeur, and necessity, of the measures proposed by its author. After all, a river, be it ever so great, and its tributaries ever so numerous, is but a given volume of water. And we cannot doubt that the opening resources of success will, if not at once, yet presently, control not the Mississippi only, but those vast streams also which now waste themselves in the Indian and other Oceans. They shall be made, not only to restrain, but to supply water in accordance with the will and the wants of man. We possess, even within the limits of this Presidency, rivers in many of their features analagous with the Mississippi, and capable of assisting to maintain the present population of British India. The waters of the Indus are even more precious, *ceteris paribus*, than those of the Mississippi, because upon them are wholly dependent the agricultural prospects of their valley—while the borders of the Mississippi are refreshed, and culturable, by rain water.

Yet, have we turned the Indus to account? Common sense would seem to dictate that at least the canals conducting its water into the agricultural districts should be rendered, if possible, perfectly efficient for the object in view. But are they so? Has it not been a fact obvious to the eye of every traveller that, while the level of the plain in Sind is lower than that of the river, the conduits are so shallow, so rugged, so unscientifically sloped and directed, that in the common event of a poor inundatory period, half the cultivable lands are left unsown—or at least unrequited?

And yet we expect the Province of Sind to pay! And yet we abuse the Province on account of its deficit! As well, as reasonably, might we drain the Thames and then curse our fleets for not sailing their wonted freight up to the port of London, as allow the ocean to drain the Indus, and then curse its plain for being unfruitful. We do not wish to blame Government. We know how much the Government has upon its hands. We know how difficult it is for a Government, even with liberal views, untrammelled action, and immense funds at its disposal, to develop the resources and construct the public works necessary to that development, over an empire such as ours in the East.

We know, applying to India the language used by an acute observer of America, that,

“If England cannot undertake a little war, neither can America a little improvement. Public works on the European scale would be of but little value on this continent, where the features of nature are exhibited in such

gigantic outline. When art comes in aid of nature, it must conform itself to the scale of nature. The points to be united here are important; and as they are generally far apart, the means of uniting them, whether it be by canal, telegraph, or railway, must be great in proportion. By a canal a few score miles in length, they complete in England a natural and artificial navigation of one or two hundred miles. By a canal a few hundred miles in length in America they complete a natural and artificial navigation extending for thousands of miles. There they connect the Humber with the Mersey, the Forth with the Clyde, here the Ohio with the Delaware, the Hudson with the Mississippi. There the important points to be united together are at trifling distances from each other, and on reaching them you proceed along the smiling vale which the eye can generally grasp at a single vision, cross the rivulet which the schoolboy can leap, and thread a mazy course amongst gentle undulations, some of which it is cheaper to tunnel than to turn; but here, cities, towns, and the great marts of commerce lie far apart, and to unite them you have to traverse in long straight lines the boundless plain, penetrate the mountain ridges, intersect the interminable forest, span or ferry the mightiest rivers, and cross morass after morass, all of them yet undrained, and some of them undrainable. The American is condemned to the alternative of making no improvement at all, or of conforming himself in making them to the prodigious scale of circumstances."

We know that all this is as applicable to the East as to the West. Nevertheless, the United States Government dates from 1776, while our Government dates from a year not much later. Both Governments have suffered from the effects of what is here designated subordinate, and in the States is called State, Government. Both, in other words, have felt the want of one central and all-powerful Government, acting directly upon and interested equally in all parts of the country. Both have encountered difficulties of a nature not to be estimated in countries of small extent. Both have possessed in the natural configuration and resources of their respective continents unprecedented fields for exertion.

What are the comparative results? The one Government has succeeded in developing America; the other Government has found it impossible hitherto to develop to any great degree the material resources of India. We repeat, we do not blame this Government. On the contrary, we attribute its failure in this respect to circumstances with which the American Government has not to contend. We will go yet further, and affirm that no nation other than the English or the American would have done so well by India as we have. But let us, at the same time, look truth in the face. Let us, when we have failed or stagnated, attribute effects to their causes, and not—like a child who, unable to tell the time, abuses and injures the watch which is pointing the minute—foolishly vilify a valley which the laws of nature, art, and

commerce, proclaim to be in many points analogous with that of the Mississippi. Let us rather be just, and deign to admit that we possess in the valley of the Indus a Province, destined, by reason of its geographical position, its river, its quality and level of soil, to become both commercially and agriculturally great; let us further admit that we are perfectly aware of its capabilities, which have been and are still forced by the local authorities upon notice, but that, owing to our poverty and consequent want of agency, we are for the present unable to do the Province justice.

Be sure, at least, if we persist in our fallacy, there are those who will expose us—those, too, who will repudiate the excuse of poverty as invalid,—and will accuse us of lack of enterprise, men, and true interest in the country. “Look,” they will cry, “at the valley of the Mississippi,—consider what has been accomplished there! Hear what your own countryman, Alexander Mackay, says of the valley of the Mississippi, and confess that his words paint your Indus, and should teach you to appreciate your ‘muddy ditch.’”

“The Mississippi! It was with indescribable emotions that I first felt myself afloat upon its waters. How often in my schoolboy dreams, and in my waking visions afterwards, had my imagination pictured to itself the lordly stream, rolling with tumultuous current through the boundless region to which it has given its name, and gathering into itself, in its course to the ocean, the tributary waters of almost every latitude in the temperate zone. Here it was then, in its reality, and I, at length, steaming against its tide. I looked upon it with that reverence with which every one must regard a great feature of external nature. The lofty mountain, the illimitable plain, and the seemingly shoreless lake, are all objects which strike the mind with awe. But second to none of them in the sublime emotions which it inspires, is the mighty river; and badly constituted must that mind be which could contemplate for the first time with a feeling of indifference a stream which in its resistless flow passes through so many climes, and traverses so many latitudes,—rising amid perpetual snows, and debouching under an almost tropical sun, and draining into itself the surplus waters of about two millions of square miles.

“But the grandeur of the Mississippi consists less in the majestic proportions of its physical aspect than in the part which it is yet destined to play in the great drama of civilised life. It was grand whilst it yet rolled silently and unknown through the unbroken solitudes of the primeval forest;—it was grand when the indomitable but unfortunate Soto first gazed upon its waters, and when it opened to receive, at the hands of his disconsolate band, the corpse of its discoverer;—and it was grand when no sound was heard along its course but the scream of the eagle and the war-whoop of the savage. * * But grander will it yet be, aye, far grander, when civilisation has tracked it from its mouth to its sources; when industry has converted its sides into a garden, and speckled them with lively towns and glittering cities; and when busy populations line its shores, and turn along

the banks of all its tributaries. Then, and then only, will the Mississippi fulfil its destiny.

"Already, *with but nine millions of people in the valley, its whole aspect is changed*—the wilderness has been successfully invaded—the hum of busy industry is heard along its shores—towns have sprung up as by magic upon its banks—the combined banner of science and art waves over its waters—and hundreds of steamers, with a multitude of other craft, are afloat upon its tide. What scene will it present when the present population is multiplied by ten, and when, *serving as a bond of perpetual union stronger than treaties, protocols, or the other appliances of diplomacy between more than a dozen sovereign and independent commonwealths, it is the common highway along which will be borne the accumulated products of their united industry to the ocean!* Viewed in the double light of what it is and what it is to be, it is *marvellous how some can look upon the Mississippi as nothing more than a 'muddy ditch.'* Muddy it undoubtedly is, but that which renders its current so turbid is but the material torn from distant regions, with which it comes laden to construct new territories in more accessible positions. The opaqueness of its volume is thus but one of the means by which is gradually accomplished a great physical phenomenon. Regarded in connexion with the purposes to which it will yet be applied, when civilisation has risen to full tide around it, the Mississippi must be equally an object of interest to the Englishman as to the American,—*for what Englishman can look with indifference upon that which is yet destined to be the principal medium of communication between the great world and the region which is rapidly becoming the chief theatre for Anglo-Saxon enterprise, and will yet witness the greatest triumphs of Anglo-Saxon energy and skill?* He takes, then, but a vulgar view of it, who treats as *merely so much muddy water running through an unpicturesque country, a stream which, ere many more heads are grey, will exercise so important an influence upon the commercial and political relations of the world."*

ART. II.—A CHAPTER IN THE HISTORY OF BOMBAY.

1708—1725.

A new Account of the East Indies, being the observations and remarks of Captain Alexander Hamilton, who spent his time there from the year 1688 to 1723. (Edinburgh: 1727.

THERE were signs in the dawn of the eighteenth century that the English in India were about to enjoy brighter times. A war waged by them against the Empire of the Moguls, which, feeble

and unwieldy as it was, yet almost crushed them by the mere weight of its inert mass,—a war in which their pecuniary resources, their credit and military strength, had been almost exhausted,—was now happily terminated. The two Companies, which had substituted for fair and commercial rivalry bitter and internecine hostility against each other, were now amalgamated; the old Company contributing experience and “the good-will” of a long-established business, the new contributing cash, to the common stock; so that the United Company not only reassured the wavering minds of its creditors, but inspired the English nation with increased confidence in its stability. Foes, active ones, still remained, but they could only sting, and were incapable of inflicting mortal injury. In brief, the East India Company, having survived a dangerous birth and aggravated diseases of childhood, was now in a state of adolescence, with every prospect of enjoying a long and vigorous existence.

Disordered as were their pecuniary affairs, they soon improved, and after a few years prospered beyond all precedent. The expenses which had attended the complicated arrangements for winding up the separate business of the two Companies, at first crippled the United Company, so that in March 1709 they only declared a dividend of five per cent.; but in September of the same year it rose to eight per cent., the following year to nine per cent., at which rate it stood until June 1722, when it was reduced to eight per cent. The bursting of the South Sea bubble had such a beneficial effect upon their stock, that in 1720 it attained a value of four hundred and forty-five per cent. In 1712, when Parliament voted the continuance of their charter until 1733, their annual exports were valued at £150,000.

The Company had on different occasions withdrawn their factories from the following places, on the western coast of India; namely, from Cutch, Brodera, Raibagh, Rajapore, Batticolo, Onore, Barselore, Mangalore, Dhurmapatam, Cananore, Paniani, Cranganore, Cochin, Porca, Carnopoly, and Quilon,—all of them small establishments in which probably the only European residents were a Factor, and a Writer who served him as Assistant. But they retained their principal fort on the island of Bombay, besides smaller forts at Mazagow, Mahim, Sion, Sewree, and Worlee; forts and factories also at Carwar, Tellicherry, Anjengo, and Calicut; and factories at Surat, Swally, Broach, Ahmedabad, to which was afterwards added a residency at Cambay.*

* Macpherson's History of Commerce Milburn's Oriental Commerce

Such was the position of affairs when the unchronicled period of which we are now about to treat, commenced—unchronicled because hitherto ‘there has been a lack of data. For the materials of history are wars, revolutions, heroic acts, the acquisitions of science and learning, changes of politics and laws. She draws her supplies from stirring events, conquests, national, political, theological, literary and scientific struggles. Years of repose and mercantile prosperity are not her favourite subjects, and hitherto her pen has refused to describe for the next forty years the acts of English merchants in India following their ordinary avocations. Thinking probably that they would only have to note down the prices of pepper and calicoes, the arrival and departure of ships and cargoes, or other ordinary transactions of commercial life, writers of Anglo-Indian history have preferred to abstain from such savourless fare. Mill devotes to the next forty years but fifty octavo pages of large type, and these include all that he has to say respecting the affairs of the East India Company in England and all parts of India. Orme omits them altogether; and Walter Hamilton, a pains-taking writer, dismisses them with this single paragraph :—“ With the junction of the East India Companies Mr. Bruce’s authentic narrative concludes, and no documents have been discovered to fill up the intervening period until A. D. 1748.” We congratulate ourselves upon having been more fortunate than Hamilton. We have found some at least of the missing documents, and the following pages are the fruits of our researches as far as they relate to the western side of India.

Before devoting our whole attention to “ the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies,” we must briefly notice two rivals which awakened their fears and jealousies. An association of Scotchmen had engaged in an effort to gain a share of the trade in India, but without that prudence and discretion for which their nation has been in other instances distinguished. They seem never to have had more than one ship, called the “Speedwell,” the Captain of which was a notorious polygamist, of no education, who, having been brought up as a Highland drover, was little acquainted with the practice, and still less with the science of navigation. Utterly without the requisite qualifications as he was, they yet contrived to obtain for him the commission of a Lieutenant in the Royal Navy, and sent him to inaugurate their enterprise. At Batavia he designedly permitted his ship to be driven on the rocks, where she became a total wreck, a small portion only of the cargo being saved, including some grossly

obscene glass-ware, which was a private speculation of the supercargoes. We hear of the chief supercargo at Surat, where he arrived after having wasted his time and money in debauchery with a woman of bad character at Malacca. Swamped by the vice and mismanagement of its servants, the frail Company soon disappeared, and never rises again to the surface of history.*

The attempt of the English Company's other rivals was more judiciously and perseveringly made under high authority, and for a time at least was more successful. They were chiefly English and Dutch merchants, who, hampered by the vexatious laws passed in their own countries against interlopers, placed themselves under the protection of the Emperor of Germany, and formed a Company at Ostend, which had been recently incorporated into the Imperial dominions. Not only was much of their capital British, their ships were even navigated by British seamen; so, according to the principles of trade which then were current, the English Parliament felt themselves called upon to interfere. In 1716, and again in 1718, an Act was passed, prohibiting the investment of English capital in the East India stock of foreign nations, and the employment of English seamen in their trade. The English Company also strictly enjoined their servants in India to apprehend, and send for trial to England, all English subjects who might be found trading there without the Company's authority. Still more decided were the measures which the Dutch adopted for the suppression of the innovators. They appealed not only to the Emperor but also to the Courts of England and France, representing that by a treaty made with Spain in 1648 all her subjects had been excluded from carrying on trade with India by way of the Cape of Good Hope, that the Ostenders had been at that time her subjects, and consequently the establishment of an East India Company at Ostend was an infringement of treaties, against which the great powers of Europe ought to protest.†

In India, English, French, and Dutch were all on the alert to defeat the enterprise of these Ostenders, whose obnoxious flag first made its appearance there in 1716, when the French Governor of Pondicherry advised the servants of the English Company that two forty-gun vessels, which had been fitted out at Ostend, were off the coast of Malabar. One of these intruders came to Surat, where it caused great excitement. Again, in August 1719, intelligence reached Bombay that "interlopers of the English nation" were

* Hamilton's "New Account of the East Indies," chap. xxxix.

† Letter from the Court of Directors to the President and Council of Bombay, dated 25th March 1721. Macpherson's History of Commerce.

sailing under Imperial colours in the Indian seas, and soon afterwards the "Prince Eugène," of two hundred and fifty tons, arrived from Ostend at the bar of the Surat river. The English Chief, receiving this information as he was on his way to "a venison feast" at the tent of the Dutch Directoire, had at once an opportunity of holding a friendly consultation with his ally, and when the Hollander declared that his Company, exasperated by the competition of the interlopers, had prohibited their servants at all their settlements under the severest penalties from supplying them even with wood and water, the two Chiefs agreed that although they were not empowered to adopt aggressive measures, they would throw every impediment they possibly could in the way of the new-comers. The next day the "Eugène's" pinnace ascended the river to the Custom House, and after the crew had explained their object to the native officers, they were permitted to go ashore and to hire a house for their residence, where they received a formal license to trade. Of course this was a great mortification to the English Chief, who waited as soon as he could upon Sheik Islam Khan, Deputy Governor of the city, and disingenuously told him that the Europeans at the bar "belonged to Ostend, a fishing town," which was lawfully in the dominions of the king of Spain, but having been taken in the late war by the English, French, and Dutch, had been ceded by them to the Emperor of Germany; and he advised the native officer in quite a friendly way to be on his guard against the officers and crew of the "Prince Eugène," for they came as much with a view to plunder native shipping, as to engage in honest trade. The Deputy, however, seeing through this mean falsehood, replied that the persons who had come before in a ship from Ostend had conducted themselves peaceably and injured no one; and as for his part he considered them honest, so he could not withhold from them his permission to trade. Thus baffled in their ungenerous design, the English factors could only enjoin their brokers to abstain from dealing with the intruders, and in conjunction with the Dutch compel all their constituents to give a promise under their hand and seal to that effect. In short, as they complacently noted down, they did them "all the disservices possible." One of their measures was to post near the Ostenders' residence spies, who in a short time reported that Mr. George Wyche, a free-trader under the Company's license, was actually in correspondence with the enemy. Here was a traitor in the camp. They wrote and forwarded a protest to him, but that he treated with indifference; so they took their revenge by placing an embargo on his goods, and not allowing him to ship them for Bombay. Wyche, who was of

course indignant, maintained that he had a right to do as he pleased, and, as they declared, addressed them in abusive and obscene language. So they reported his behaviour to their superiors at Bombay, who, after putting this and that together, elicited the ominous fact that the free-trader had invited the interlopers to dinner, and then and there clandestinely submitted to them musters of goods for sale. Further than this they had not positive proof, but they also conjectured that he had sold them various articles, and—which was tantalising indeed—had been paid in good cash. The offender was instantly summoned to Bombay, where, as the evidence against him was not sufficiently conclusive, he was merely admonished and permitted to return. Whether or not it was found that the Ostenders were not so mischievous as was at first supposed, or that the English had become habituated to their visits, we cannot say; but certain it is, that the hostility against them abated at Surat, so that when their ship “*Concordia*” arrived on the 4th of February 1720, and the “*Haremborg*” on the 23rd of October of the same year, their officers met with no molestation.*

Having thus noticed the periodical visits of these commercial rivals, let us inspect the domestic concerns of the Presidency. These were for the most part of an ordinary and prosaic character, and it is necessary to tell the reader that they were so, as probably he would not otherwise infer it from our narrative. For although we only note down matters which have some interest, as for instance financial, administrative, and military arrangements, relations with Native and European powers, and peculiar incidents in the lives of individuals,—we would not have it supposed that in those days such topics chiefly occupied the time and attention of an English Governor in India and his official staff. On the contrary, his was in the main the ordinary routine of a merchant, and not unfrequently he might be seen chaffering like a very petty tradesman. A cursory glance at the archives would satisfy any inquirer that the heads of Government were rather engrossed with trade than politics. If they were occasionally

* Diary of the Surat Factory from August 1719 to December 1720. The Ostend Company was continued for many years, but we read little of their ships on the western side of India. It was reported in England in 1743, that they were resolved to take revenge for the injuries they had received in Bengal, by applying for commissions from the Queen of Hungary to cruise off the coasts of India and take the ships of Mussulmans. The Court of Directors therefore warned the Factors of Surat and Natives to be on their guard.—(General Letter, dated 4th November 1743.)

compelled to discuss questions of administration or of war and peace, these were but digressions, and they soon reverted to the business of the warehouse. The duty of His Honor the President was to make himself acquainted with the state, variations, and prospects of the markets, to cheapen calicoes, criticise investments of pepper, and haggle in his Council-chamber with natives for the disposal of a European cargo. He and his correspondents used a surprising jargon of terms, most of which, since English drove Indian fabrics out of the market, have become obsolete. They wrote a great deal about "dutties," "lungees," "tapseils," "guinea-stuffs," "scarlet drabs," "porpetts," "brawls," "chelloes," "small or large neccanees," and "chints's of sorts." His Honor of Bombay, when writing to His Worship of Surat, would wish to know "what was doing in large Broach, blue Brodera, and Cambay cottons;" he had received a supply of cloves, nutmegs, and mace, with "a very choice assortment of sword blades;" he would be glad to hear that the gentlemen of the Factory could purchase plenty of cotton-yarn, and he took that opportunity of inclosing an invoice of "flowered cloth," which had been forwarded as an experiment to see whether such an article would be in demand; he lamented that their supply of elephants' teeth had fallen short that year; found fault with the way in which the chelloes had been "calendered and papered;" he and the honourable Members of Council, having measured three pieces out of each bale of the neccanees, had decided that they were far too coarse, and had not found a piece which was not deficient in length and breadth; they were now on the look-out for a supply of chints's, including "coloured and white grounds," with so many "pairs green grounds small running work," and a few "with large nose-gays and bunches of flowers," or "small dittoes and stripes." Then, after having despatched these important advices, the Honorable the President and Council would perhaps, like any respectable auctioneer of the present time, give notice that they would hold a public outcry, when a large variety of goods would be offered for competition; or that there would be "a sale by candle,"* the conditions of which were that the articles would be disposed of for ready money only to the highest bidder, who must remove them

* It is evident from the Records that this mode of sale was frequent at Bombay and Surat. • It appears to have been ordinarily adopted in London, at least during the previous century. Dryden, describing the popularity of Wilt's poetry, says that he had seen people reading his *Iler Boreale* in the midst of "Change,"—"nay, so vehemently were they at it, that they lost their bargains by the candles-ends."

at his own risk, and that if not cleared out at such a time, &c. &c. Such, a century or a century and a half ago, were the official despatches and the occupations of an Indian Governor and Council.

We are indebted to the Rev. Richard Cobbe, the Chaplain, for an account of Bombay at this period. He wrote it (A. D. 1715) in compliance with a parting request of Dr. Robinson, Bishop of London; but that prelate seems to have thrown his letters aside without notice; at least he never replied to them, and they would have been lost if the writer had not in his old age sent to an English press the copies which he had so long preserved. The population of the island was estimated at 16,000, for the support of which the ground produced only rice, a few vegetables, and the fruit and juice of palm-trees; but abundance of provisions was imported, the finest wheat being brought from Surat, where there was better bread than at any other place in India. Arrack was much consumed, such as was of inferior quality being sent to the market from Goa,* and the best from Batavia. Wine of Shiraz was a luxury confined chiefly to the wealthier classes. Owing to the construction of a strong dyke at what was called the Great Breach, and to the consequent exclusion of the sea from low lands which it had converted into pestilential marshes, the climate was much improved; but during this whole century disease occasionally became epidemic, and then it was attributed to exhalations from the putrid fish or *koot* with which the lands were manured, so that the practice was repeatedly prohibited, and as often, on the petition of the cultivators, again permitted.† Mr. Cobbe considered the island very pleasant, and although

* Hamilton, in his account of Goa, writes:—"The little trade they have is mostly from their arrack, which is distilled from toddy of the cocon-nut tree, which grows in great abundance in the territories of Goa. The English are their best customers, for they buy great quantities yearly for punch. It is sold by the caddy or two casks, about 45 gallons each, for 25 xerapheens per cask; but I have bought it for 20, when there was no great demand for it."—Chap. xxi. Many years afterwards a Mr. Jenkinson proposed to establish a manufactory of arrack on the Malabar Coast, and Government made a contract with him for five years, but the spirit did not appear to give satisfaction. (Diary for 1840—1843.)

† Diary of the Bombay Government, 25th July 1720. The practice was then forbidden for the second or third time, and dung was ordered to be used as manure; but in May 1724 this was admitted not to have been a sufficient substitute, and the prohibition against *koot* was withdrawn by an Order of Council. Yet a report was made to Government on the 16th February 1733, that the Coombies who cultivated the rice-grounds had fled to Salsette, because they were restricted from using fish-manure. In January 1739 the principal landholders of Bombay and Mahim set forth in a petition "the inevitable ruin of themselves and families by the entire prohibition from the Government of the *koot* manure," and prayed for consideration and relief from their grievance.

"the climate was comfortably warm before the monsoons," it was so much healthier than it had previously been that with a little care and caution one might live as well there as in England. His letter was carried home by the late General, the Honorable William Aislabie, Esquire, who was accompanied by Captain James Harmer. The one had lived twenty-eight, the other twenty-two years in Bombay ; but such instances were confessedly rare. Mr. Cobbe's predecessor, the Revd. George Watson, had died in 1710, before completing a residence of one year, and for the five following years the place was without a clergyman. There were three forts in addition to the Castle, five Portuguese Churches, and the stunted walls of an English Church which had been commenced by Sir George Oxenden. The Court of Directors had sent out an order in 1710 that all cocoa-nut and toddy trees standing within a mile of the principal fort should be felled, but it was some time before this was strictly enforced.* To defray the expenses of fortifying the town, the merchants and other inhabitants agreed in 1716 to pay additional duties at the rate of two per cent., and the Veriadores contributed fifteen thousand xeraphims annually for the defence of the island, on condition that they should be exempted from raising train-bands or militia, which had previously been their duty.† It is stated in an inscription lately removed from the Apollo gateway, that the town-wall was completed on the 1st of June 1716, when Charles Boone was Governor.

Finding the revenues inadequate to meet the expenses of the island, the Court of Directors ordered in 1717 that the ground-rent within the city should be improved by instituting quit-rents, or by letting leases renewable on the payment of fines. "The consideration of our prodigious charge," they add, "and the people's protection and liberty, are very cogent arguments, if rightly managed, to convince every one why that ground ought to

On the 22nd February 1742 the Fazendars or freeholders (*Affarendos* Portuguese) offered Rs. 10,000 to Government, on condition that the prohibition against koot should be removed. Their petition was referred to the Court of Directors and rejected. (Diary of the Bombay Government at the respective dates.) At much later periods the use and disuse of koot are both mentioned by visitors.

* See also Mr. Cobbe's letters to the Court of Directors and the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.

† These Veriadores seem to have held office under the Portuguese Government. Professor Wilson in his Glossary describes them as "a class of native functionaries in the island of Bombay, whose duties appear to have consisted in the guardianship of orphans, and the care of the effects of deceased persons dying intestate." From what is written above, it appears that they were also officers of militia.

be valued higher than it otherwise would." In 1718 the Company resigned their feudal claims upon the landholders of the island for military service, on condition that a tax should be imposed upon all who resided within the town-walls—a measure which may be said to have altered the constitution of the island. In 1720 the quit-rent imposed upon estates within the town-wall was found to be so onerous that the principal inhabitants petitioned to be relieved, and many evaded it by building houses without the walls. The Court, therefore, directed that the rents should be reduced by one half, and by way of supplying the consequent deficiency in the revenues, determined that the holders of all tenures within the distance of a cannon-shot from the city, should not as heretofore be exempt from the payment of rent.*

A taste for Indian antiquities was now exhibited for the first time, and we note the observations of two gentlemen at Elephanta, as they show the gradual dawn of knowledge, and preserve the memory of some monuments which time and the ruthless hands of barbarians have since destroyed. Captain Pyke, who then commanded an East Indiaman, and was afterwards Governor of St. Helena, went in 1712 to explore the caves—an enterprise attended both with difficulty and danger; for intelligent guides were not easily found, and the cruisers of Kanhojee Angria were constantly on the look-out, ready to pounce upon and kidnap any Europeans who might come within their reach. As Pyke and his party approached the island, they took for a landmark the figure of an elephant sculptured in stone, with a small elephant upon its back, the greater part of which has now disappeared; and a little further on was another statue, called "Alexander's Horse," of which there are now no traces. The explorers speculated on the origin of the subterranean temple, which has since exercised so much the fancy of imaginative and the judgment of learned persons, and deciding against the claims of Alexander the Great, leaned to the conclusion of Linschoten, who, in his "*Voyages to India*," pronounced them to be the work of Chinese merchants. The smaller caves they found to be used by the Portuguese for cow-houses, and an aristocratic Vandal of that race had been amusing himself by firing a cannon in them and destroying the images. Captain Pyke made faithful sketches of the various figures, which were afterwards engraved and published by the Society of Antiquaries. George Bowcher, formerly a servant of the old, then of the new Company,

* Report on the Landed Tenures of Bombay; by F. Warden, Esq., in the Geographical Society's "*Transactions*."

and afterwards residing for many years as a free merchant at Surat, devoted his attention to the literary monuments of the Parsees, and in 1718 procured from them the Vendidad Sade, which in 1723 was sent to Europe, where it remained for long as an enigma, oriental scholars not being able even to decypher its characters. Governor Boone also had drawings made of the figures in the caves of Elephanta, and a descriptive account written. He was clearly a man of elegant and refined mind, who loved classical and antiquarian studies; and a Latin inscription placed by him over the Apollo Gate of the Fort, as well as one on a bell which he presented to the new Church, exhibit him as tinged with some knowledge of Roman and mediæval antiquities. Better still—he was, as Hamilton declares, “a gentleman of as much honour and good sense as any that ever sat in that chair.”*

The construction of St. Thomas's Church, now the Cathedral, next claims our attention, and induces us to take a slight retrospect of the Christian religion. So deplorable did the spiritual condition of the English in India appear to many, that the zeal and indignation of Humphrey Prideaux, the Dean of Norwich, were aroused, and for forty years that celebrated divine continued with the utmost earnestness to claim for this subject the solicitude of those who ought to have made it their chief concern. As early as the year 1677 he had been consulted as to the expediency of publishing a copy of those Syriac Gospels, which were preserved by the ancient Church on the coast of Malabar, and had lately been brought to England. From that time his mind was turned towards India, and reading the pamphlets of Sir Josiah Child and others, he concluded that under British rule were a million of natives, who ought not to be left without the enlightening influences of Christianity. In 1694-5 he published an account of the English Settlements in India, in which he affirmed that Europeans of other nations and even heathens showed more regard for the religion they professed than did the English; that Mussulmans had their mosques, Jews their synagogues, Hindus their pagodas, Portuguese their churches with numerous priests; that Dutch Presbyterians maintained thirty or

* Anquetil du Perron; “Discours préliminaire à Zend-Avesta.” He writes the name *Bourchier*, and not as above. Richard Bouchier was afterwards Governor; but George Bowcher was the resident at Surat. Hamilton's “New Account,” chap. ii. *Archæologia*, vol. vii. The inscription has been recently removed from the gateway, and is as follows:—“H. O. I. Hon. Carolo Boone Arn. Insulæ Bombaiæ, &c. Gubernatore Illustrissimo. Jun. Ult. Anno Domini MDCCXVI.” That on the bell:—“Laus Deo. In usum Eccles. Anglic. Bomb., Anno Domi. 1719. *Sine chatriate facti sumus velut æs sonans.*”

forty ministers for the purpose of instructing the heathen, appointed Chaplains to their ships and factories, and had established a college in Ceylon, where they had also printed Bibles, catechisms, and other books in the vernaculars ;—that in contrast with all these were the English, who had never built a Church, if we except the one raised in Madras at the sole expense of Streylnsham Master. He further represented that, although there were English Chaplains at Surat, Angola, Madras, Fort St. David, and Bombay, they were shabbily and disrespectfully treated, so that at their common tables the Roman Catholic priest might be seen sitting in the first place,* the Dutch minister next, and the English minister at the distance of many places below both. He then proposed that Churches and Schools should be built at Bombay, Madras, and Fort St. David ; that the services of able and pious ministers should be secured ; that the stipends of Chaplains should be raised from fifty to a hundred pounds a year, and that they should in all cases receive more courteous treatment. Accompanying this work is a letter addressed to Dr. Tenison, Archbishop of Canterbury, in which the Dean entreats his Grace to interpose with the king that the East India Company may be compelled “to do something towards that good work,” or, if they persist in refusing, that well-disposed Christians may be urged to promote it with pecuniary contributions. Lastly, in 1718, when he had attained the age of seventy, Pridcaux returned to this subject, and addressed a letter to Archbishop Wake, repeating the arguments which he had before submitted to his predecessor Tenison.*

One result of the good Dean's labours was, that the Company sent Chaplains to their island of St. Helena, and that certain religious clauses were inserted in their new Charter. Another result probably was, that Mr. Cobbe was sent as Chaplain to Bombay in 1714, and that when he earnestly expressed a desire to build a Church and establish schools, he met with a hearty response both from the Company and the community amongst which he lived. His proposal created quite a *furor*. A new light shone upon the men of Bombay. The room in the Fort where they had hitherto met for divine service was henceforward viewed with contempt, and the zealous Cobbe, who was a favorable specimen of the high-church clergy at that period, and one of the few earnest men who adorned the Anglican Church, was seconded in all his efforts. On the first Sunday after Trinity in 1715, he broke ground and introduced his cherished design, by

* Anderson's History of the Colonial Church, vol. ii. chap. xvii.

expressing in his sermon how keenly the want of a suitable Church was felt by several Christians. Retiring after service to the residence of Governor Aislabie, where he was accustomed to take his Sunday dinner, he was addressed by his Honor thus :—" Well, Doctor, you have been very zealous for the Church this morning." " Please your Honor," he replied, " I think there was occasion enough for it, and I hope without offence." " Well then," said the prompt and practical Governor, " if we must have a Church, we will have a Church! Do you see and get a book made, and see what every one will contribute towards it, and I will do first."

There was little fear that a work, upon which two men in their position were bent, would languish for want of encouragement. The ardent Chaplain gave himself to it with the utmost diligence, and was only made the more eager by a few rebuffs. He applied for subscriptions to the Chaplains at Madras, and they scrubbily replied by telling him that the structure he was raising would be three times larger than was necessary, but that they would send some money for it, if an equivalent were subscribed at Bombay for their schools. This touches the spring of Mr. Cobbe's satire, and he severely rallies them upon their mawkish proposal and illiberal suggestion of a *quid pro quo*. As to the size of the building, he declares that it would not be disproportioned to the number of inhabitants, " at least not to the expected increase of them," and asks, " What more preposterous to our Christian profession than to set up a poor school in competition with our mother Church? *Inprimis venerare Deum* is an old maxim, sound and orthodox." If any question the worthy clergyman's veracity, because he asserted that the stately pile which he proposed to raise would not be more than sufficient to accommodate the Protestants of the island, they should remember that his sanguine mind looked forward to the conversion of heathens and a large access of the native population.

Some of the entries in the list of subscriptions to the new Church show the liberality of the donors; and others are curious as illustrating the manners of the age. The Company's contribution was ten thousand rupees. Governor Boone, who succeeded Mr. Aislabie, gave in various sums Rs. 3,918, and Mr. Cobbe Rs. 1,427—subscriptions more in proportion to the profits which they made by private transactions than to the limited amount of their salaries. Amongst other entries are, " A fine upon Bhundaries, Rs. 18," and " A fine inflicted upon Joseph Hor-

nall for a misdemeanour, given by the Governor's order." The average amount of the Sacramental collections, made once every month, was about Rs. 29; of those made on Christmas Day, Rs. 72; on Easter Day, Rs. 39, and on Whitsunday, Rs. 34. "A commutation for penance corporal," at Surat, was Rs. 150; Cornelius Sodington gives "For my wife when I have her, Rs. 20," and Mr. Richard Waters Rs. 11, which were allowed him by Mr. Cobbe for performing divine service when the said Chaplain was on visitation at Surat. The names on the list worthy of remark are, those of Mr. George Bowcher, who gave Rs. 200 in addition to what he had contributed about thirty years before in Sir John Child's days; of Alexander Hamilton, to whom we are so much indebted for our acquaintance with his times, and who gave Rs. 80 for himself and Rs. 50 on account of his ship the "Morning Star"; and of Cumsha and Chunqua, Chinamen, the one of whom subscribed Rs. 150, the other Rs. 90. The total amount collected was Rs. 43,992 or £5,499. Mr. Boone gave the handsome bell to which we have before alluded, and which still tolls its summons to the Christians of the neighbourhood.*

The first stone of the Church was laid on the 18th of November 1715, and it was opened for divine service in 1718. The Chaplain, solicitous to know how it was to be consecrated, had, in his unanswered letter to the Bishop of London, most respectfully applied for his lordship's directions, and did all that a clergyman could do in the absence of episcopacy. On the morning of Christmas Day a solemn procession, led by the Governor, was seen issuing from the Fort and wending its way to the west door of the new edifice, the interior of which was decorated for the occasion with branches of palm and plantain trees, with festoons suspended round the pillars, and with such fine double crosses over the arches that the enthusiastic master of the ceremonies declared they "looked like so many stars in the firmament." Having been met at the entrance by the Chaplain in his canonical dress, the procession passed up the middle aisle, repeating

* In an account of the Cathedral drawn up by the lamented Colonel Ogilvie, it is assumed that Communion Plate was presented to the Church by Mr. Adams, Chief of Calicut, and that it has since been stolen. But from Mr. Cobbe's letter of acknowledgment, we conclude that the plate in question was a present made to himself. He writes to Adams thus:—"I thank you likewise for the extraordinary present you have since been pleased to order me in plate, perpetuated to my memory with this inscription, *Donum Roberti Adams, Armiger de Callicut et Tellicherry, Præf. Vicar. Anno Domini 1717*. But more especially am I obliged to you for your more than ordinary generous contribution to our Church, the which, as it is esteemed a favour of a more public nature, so will it require a more public instance of perpetual acknowledgment."

the words of the twenty-fourth Psalm ; and then commenced the service, during which a child was baptized ; the Governor, Mrs. Parker the Deputy Governor's wife, and Mrs. Crommelin, "standing gossips." "Ranjee and all his caste, with a large crowd of natives, were spectators, and so well pleased with the decency and regularity of the way of worship that they stood it out the whole service." The only part of the proceedings to which the most scrupulous could object was the conclusion, when the Governor, his Council, and the ladies, repaired to the vestry, where they drank success to the new Church in a glass of sack. The remainder of the day was passed in festivities, a grand entertainment being given by the Governor at his residence, when toasts were proposed amidst the roar of guns fired from the Fort and responded to by the ships in the harbour. The vigilant Chaplain, deeming the opportunity favourable, then introduced his subscription-book, and procured Rs. 2,400, "of which the Governor for example's sake launched out one thousand rupees himself," in order that a lofty steeple might be erected.

The new Church was described as "a structure deservedly admired for its strength and beauty, neatness and uniformity, but more especially for its echo," as eclipsing the Churches of Bengal and Madras, as well as the Portuguese Churches of Bombay, and of sufficient area to be a Cathedral. The first care was the allotment of seats, in which the order of precedence was scrupulously observed. The ground-plan is now before us, and we see in it the various grades of society marked with the utmost precision. After the Governor, who of course occupied the first place of dignity, come "the Council, their ladies, and ladies whose husbands had been in Council"; then in regular order, senior merchants, physician, doctors, doctor's mate, senior merchants, wives of supercargoes, free merchants and European captains, European captains, supercargoes, free merchants, captains of grabs, "councillor's captains," lieutenants of grabs, and "councillor's mates." Behind these sat writers, strangers, house-keepers, inhabitants, commissariat officer and gunners, commissariat officer's wife and gunner's wife (there was only one). In rear of all were serjeant, corporals, soldiers, gun-room crew, troop and guard, and "inferior women." We wish not to be held responsible for this last title, but to saddle it on the right persons—the Governor and Mr. Cobbe. What are the class of persons described by it, we must leave the reader to determine.

That the fabric might be kept in repair, a duty of one half per

cent. was levied on all goods imported into the island, but the proceeds were only applied occasionally to that purpose.*

Soon after the affairs of his Church had been arranged, the zealous Chaplain made an effort to establish a Charity School, and for that purpose preached on the 8th September 1719 a sermon, after which Rs. 6,190. were collected. This we must regard as the little source of that admirable institution, "The Education Society," and doubtless Mr. Cobbe would himself have brought his scheme to maturity, if untoward circumstances had not checked him in his useful career, and driven him to leave India in disgust.†

For now a change comes over his relations with his flock. We have hitherto seen them all acting with singular unanimity and a common purpose; but the same warmth of temperament by which their impetuous Chaplain at one time triumphed over difficulties, at another time involved him in fresh difficulties. Living in the age of Sacheverell and Atterbury, when divines were constantly stepping beyond the duties of their calling, and trespassing on the field of politics, he raised the spirit of discord by following such examples; and this was remembered against him on a subsequent occasion when his zeal was purely religious. He threw down the glove in 1719 by calling in question an act of Government, and was so ill-advised as to preach a sermon against the Council because they had suspended one of their colleagues from the exercise of his functions. Taking for his text the words, *Though hand join in hand, the wicked shall not be unpunished*, he used expressions which were so offensive to the Government that they afterwards pronounced them seditious, although they stifled their indignation until a favourable opportunity of pouring their wrath upon the aggressor should be presented. Nor had they to wait long; for many of the congregation were annoyed at being made, as they believed, the subjects of personal attacks from the pulpit; others who were communicants complained that they were publicly warned to take off their gloves before receiving the consecrated elements, and one in particular had a grievance so serious that he demanded a formal inquiry.

The following account of this affair is compiled from statements made by both parties in this dispute, and they were admitted to be

* Consultation Book of the Government of Bombay; 13th January and 7th October 1734. Rs. 2,675 of the duties of 1733, and Rs. 8,893 in 1734, were made over to the Churchwardens for annual expenses and necessary additions. Rs. 9,000 in 1735 were given for the repairs of Pafell House.

† Bombay Church: or a true account of the building and finishing the English Church at Bombay, in the East Indies. By the Rev. Richard Cobbe, M.A. Livingston, 1766.

substantially correct. During the months of March, April, and May, Mr. Braddyl, a Member of Council, was making extensive repairs in his house, and did not think it necessary that there should be any cessation of labour on Sundays. Meeting him at the residence of Mr. Wyche, a common friend, Mr. Cobbe remonstrated with him on this account; upon which Mr. Braddyl lamented the necessity, but declared that the work must be completed before the monsoon. "Better that ten houses should be lost," said the high-church puritan, "than one Sabbath-day broke;" and then illogically argued that the house would not be injured even if it should be unfinished when the rains set in, for St. Thomas's Church had been exposed to several monsoons whilst it was being constructed, and had suffered no injury. This conversation had no other effect than to confirm both in their opinions, and a few days afterwards, when the thriving Member of Council was explaining in the other's presence the comfort and satisfaction of getting money, he was interrupted by the Chaplain, who said, "Yes; there is a satisfaction in it, I don't doubt, especially if it be gotten honestly." Mr. Braddyl, not understanding the drift of this remark, asked, "Why, Doctor, don't you think that I get my money honestly?" and was gruffly told he did not, so long as he worked on Sundays. Hurt by this reproof, the Member of Government walked away, but afterwards assured the Chaplain through Mr. Parker that he was ready to forgive him. "He forgive me!" said the Churchman, according to his own account; "I shan't forgive him, till he has done working on Sundays," and took care to keep the wound fresh by preaching a sermon on the observance of the Sabbath. Mr. Braddyl contented himself with letting the other know that the repairs of his house must be continued; but aware that he had to deal with a man who would act as well as preach, cautiously abstained from partaking of the Holy Communion, which up to that time he had been in the habit of doing. At last, however, when the work of his house had been completed, and he could not, as he supposed, be regarded any longer as an offender, he went to Church and offered himself as a communicant. The service was conducted as usual until the elements had been consecrated, when, after the customary pause, the stillness was interrupted by Mr. Cobbe exclaiming, "Mr. Braddyl!" The communicant was thrown into confusion; for, as he afterwards declared, he thought the clergyman had lost his senses. Again the summons was uttered, with the addition of the words—"Have you done working on Sundays? Unless you have I cannot administer to you this Sacrament." The abashed offender replied that he worked no longer on Sundays,

when the other, advancing his siege-works, declared that he would not permit him to communicate unless he would promise him and that congregation never to work again on Sundays. "I told him I would not unless necessity obliged me," deposed the Member of Council in his report of this transaction; "upon which he condescended to treat me like the rest of the community."

The following day Mr. Braddyl complained to the Governor in Council of Mr. Cobbe's behaviour, as "very unwarrantable and unbecoming the character of a clergyman." The Chaplain opened his defence in a very high tone, maintaining that he had but discharged his duty in conformity with canons and rubrics, and adding,—“I am sorry to find a person in Mr. Braddyl's station, instead of being ashamed, make it a matter of complaint for the reproof of a sin so exceeding sinful. But is God Almighty less in India than He is in England? Or has He given any man licence to sin? Is the violation of this holy day become the less enormous, because it is frequently and irreverently profaned?” These arguments made no impression upon the Council, who feeling that they themselves had been slighted in the person of their Member, objected that Mr. Cobbe had no right to set himself up as sole judge in the question, and that the second rubric before the Communion Service, to which he appealed in his justification, was not applicable to this case, as it referred only to “an open and notorious evil liver,” which it was not pretended that Mr. Braddyl was. They therefore ordered that the Chaplain should on the following Sunday, after reading the Service for Holy Communion, publicly ask pardon of Mr. Braddyl and the other communicants whom he had insulted by desiring them to take off their gloves.

They must have been quite sure that a resolute clergyman would not submit to this sentence. He might have suffered the infliction of any penalty with a good grace, and have satisfied himself with the reflection that he was a confessor for the faith; but they could not expect that he would stultify himself and disavow his principles, by apologising openly for what he had stoutly and conscientiously maintained. He denied that he had committed any error, protested against the imposition of such a degrading punishment, and appearing before the Council on the morning of the following Sunday, went so far as to dispute the Governor's authority, maintaining that he held no Commission from the King of England. Driven from this last position by the production of the Company's Charter, which was read to him, he still refused to comply with the Order of Council. Then they raked up old griev-

ances, and demanded to see two sermons, one of which had been preached twelve months before, and tended, as they maintained, to diminish the authority of Government; the other contained the obnoxious reflections made upon their conduct when Mr. Parker was superseded. A letter which the accused had written the day before was also put in and read. He appeals in it to the tenor of his past life, which had been inoffensive, reminds them of his services, and declares that, although it would have been easy for him "to smooth matters over, and say peace, peace, when there was no peace," he could not have done so without neglecting the care and vigilance required of those who have the charge of souls. He declined compliance with the Council's order for two reasons: firstly, because, according to the rubric after the Nicene Creed, nothing is to be proclaimed during the time of divine service "but what is prescribed in the rules of the Book of Common Prayer, or enjoined by the Queen or by the Ordinary of the place"; and secondly, because such compliance "would be an encouragement to sin." He concludes with these words:—"In this therefore, I hope, gentlemen, you will pardon your servant, in that I cannot, I dare not yield my assent without declining that duty, without betraying that trust, for which also I am accountable to a more awful tribunal." Such was the posture of this affair when, the time for divine service having arrived, the meeting of the Board was adjourned.

Considering, we suppose, that a sacred day was peculiarly appropriate for the investigation of this ecclesiastical case, the Council resumed it on the following Sunday, when Mr. Cobbe attempted to conciliate them by expressing his regret for what had occurred, and his readiness to apologise for his conduct, although not in the manner prescribed by the sentence. However, it was now too late to allay the angry spirit which he had evoked. The Council reviewed and censured all his behaviour, declared that he was in the habit of preaching against those with whom he had any difference of opinion, that "his pride and unmannerly discourse in private houses" were notorious, that his "seditious sermons" during a time of war were especially objectionable, and that they would be satisfied with nothing short of unconditional submission. As this was not conceded, they suspended him from the exercise of his pastoral functions. •

We should not have devoted so much of our space to this petty dispute, if the Government of the day had not attached to it so much importance, and deliberated upon it with the utmost patience and gravity. We have had no difficulty in forming our opinion of it.

The Chaplain's conduct was highly reprehensible. By pronouncing a condemnation of the Council's acts from the pulpit, he had converted that which was exclusively designed for the utterance and exposition of divine oracles into a political engine, and intruded into matters which were beyond his province. His rebuke of Mr. Braddyl in church was also indecorous and offensive. But it is fair to believe that he was alarmed at the gross contempt for the Lord's Day which was then commencing, and, a few years later, was carried to a daring excess in Bombay. Some consideration too was due to his high character, unquestioned zeal, and valuable services. He denied that he had made special allusions to any individuals of his congregation, and probably that part of the charge was merely an unfounded suggestion of their own consciences; even his public censure of Mr. Braddyl was not uttered until he had urged many remonstrances in private and only met with indifference. Under such circumstances the sentence passed upon him was severe; and the Government showed but little prudence and respect for religion in depriving themselves of an able and zealous minister, for whom they could not hope to find any efficient substitute.

However, the civil and military servants of the Company were always ready to discharge the duty and accept the remuneration of a Chaplain, so that his absence was scarcely missed by the greater part of the community. Hamilton was struck at finding about this time a lay substitute for a clergyman at Fort William in Bengal; for five years after this there was one in Bombay and at all the minor stations. At the Presidencies a factor or military officer received £50 in addition to his ordinary salary for reading prayers and sermons, and smaller sums at the subordinate factories, according to their importance and the number of Europeans they contained. After Mr. Cobbe's suspension, Mr. Thomas Waters, having already as we have seen acted as Chaplain's deputy for a remuneration of eleven rupees, and proved himself a good reader, was appointed to officiate; but he by no means regarded himself as under an obligation to practise what he preached: eight or nine years afterwards he was tried for embezzling the public money, and, although he made a long and able defence, ordered to refund nearly sixteen thousand rupees.*

Mr. Cobbe soon left the country, and lived to a good old age in England. Fifty-two years after he had been appointed Chaplain, he published an account of the Cathedral and the foundation of the Charity School, dedicating it with many expressions of gratitude

* Consultation Book of the Bombay Government, A. D. 1719, and Diary for 1728.

to the Honourable the Court of Directors; from which we infer that they had dealt with him more liberally than the Governor and Council of Bombay. His son, called after him Richard, was afterwards in India as Chaplain to Admiral Watson, and was much esteemed.*

The next step, after the Government had seen a handsome building dedicated to the service of Almighty God, was to devise a measure for the advancement of their temporal affairs. The banking system of Europe was at that time but of recent origin. The Bank of England had been established but a quarter of a century before, and only four years had elapsed since the celebrated but visionary Law had, in accordance with his extraordinary scheme of finance, opened the Public Bank of France. In India the Shroffs had for ages acted as bankers, and been considered trustworthy, but their charges were now declared to be exorbitant, and their method of conducting business ill-adapted for the furtherance of English enterprise. It was proposed therefore that the improved system should be introduced into Bombay, and that an establishment in which Europeans as well as wealthy Natives of the increasing community might place confidence, should be instituted. Messrs. Brown and Phillips, being appointed a commission to obtain preliminary evidence and sound the opinions of Natives, reported on the 25th of July 1720 that they had "talked with the most eminent black merchants," whom they found so favourable to their proposal that, in consultation with them, they had prepared the scheme of a Bank. So pleased were the merchants with the plan, that they voluntarily offered a tax of one per cent. upon their property to defray the first expenses, and as a small commencement a capital stock of a hundred thousand rupees was raised. It does not appear that it was ever designed to be a Bank of issue; but it was proposed to open cash credits, receive deposits in money, to discount bills, and make advances on mortgages or hypothecation of goods. An office, seal, and books were at once prepared. The management was to be in the hands of the Governor and any two Members of Council whom he might be pleased to appoint. For all money advanced by the Bank on approved security, interest at the rate of nine per cent. was to be paid to the East India Company, and one per cent. to the managers; and for every hundred rupees deposited, interest was to be allowed at the rate of a *duganee* or half-pice *per diem*. On the 22nd of December business was opened by proclamation, but as after many efforts

* Ives's Voyage to India.

we have discovered little of the Bank's operations, we conclude that they were of no importance. The balances at the end of each month varied from Rs. 80,000 to Rs. 300, and the profits arising from interest at the end of the half-year from Rs. 7,000 to Rs. 2,000. Abuses probably crept into the management from the very first ; for when commissions were appointed in 1742 and 1744 to ascertain the debts, the nature of the securities, and other matters relating to the solvency of the establishment, it was shown that in August 1721 a loan had been advanced without any security, and consequently had never been paid ; that the outstanding debts amounted to Rs. 100,313, and that some had been due for twenty years ; that in that time houses and landed estates, the full value of which had been advanced on mortgage, had much deteriorated, and that the best securities were personal, as being given by borrowers of undoubted credit. We conclude that this attempt at banking was premature, and that many years elapsed before the European system was effectually introduced into India. The Bank of Hindustan, instituted in 1770, has been generally supposed to have had the precedence of all others, and not until 1807 was an Act of Parliament passed to authorise such establishments.*

As regards the Government of Bombay—Aislabie, with whose rule the title of *General* ceased, left India in 1715, and after a brief interregnum, during which Stephen Strutt, the Deputy Governor, discharged the duties of the executive, was succeeded by Charles Boone, usually styled either President or Governor ; who again was succeeded in 1720 by William Phipps. The Governor's salary was £300 *per annum* ; the Deputy-Governor, who was also Accountant, received £100, and Lawrence Parker, who succeeded Strutt in the office, received another hundred pounds as Chief Justice. The third in Council had £70 ; the fourth and fifth £50 each ; the sixth, seventh, and eighth, each £40. Then came " the minister," as he was called, whose salary was £50, and as usual another £50—" a gratuity, if found deserving." A physician and two surgeons received £36 each. Altogether, in 1720, there were forty-six covenanted servants in Bombay—military officers not being then included under that head—whose salaries were paid half-yearly, and amounted to

* Diaries of the Bombay Government for 1720 ; also for the 4th February 1743 and following months ; 26th October 1744. General letter from the Court of Directors, dated 13th March 1742, para 72. Anber's Analysis of the East India Company. All the business seems to have been in the hands of a covenanted servant, styled " Assistant to the Managers of the Bank."

£786 14s. 9d. or Rs. 6,293 3as. 7p., exchange being at the rate of 2s. 6d. to the rupee. There was also a monthly charge of Rs. 2,620 made on these gentlemen's account for diet and other allowances, and horses were provided for them at the Company's charge. A separate account too was kept for extraordinary disbursements, under which head came the Steward's bill of Rs. 1,170 for festivities on New Year's and Christmas Days. There were no restrictions on private trade, so that civil and military officers were openly engaged in large mercantile speculations with the Company's sanction, as may be seen in the extant ledgers, called "the Latty Records." Occasionally the Government remunerated their servants for special services, as, when in this year they recovered Rs. 905,000 by the payment of some debts which had been long due to the Factory at Surat, they ordered with great liberality that five per cent. should be presented to the Governor and two per cent. be divided amongst the other Members of Council. Governor Boone's share is entered in the books as Rs. 43,255, and each Member of Council obtained Rs. 2,876—prizes which they richly deserved, for the adjustment of the Company's claims was entirely the result of their spirited efforts.

Three judicial trials were at this time of more than ordinary interest, and caused great excitement. The most important was that of a man named Rama Kamatee,* who held a responsible command, and had for long enjoyed the confidence of Government; but at last strong suspicions were entertained of his honesty and loyalty, and on the 24th of March 1720 he was brought before the Governor in Council to be tried for "treason and other high crimes." The indictment contained seven counts, the substance of which was as follows:—1st, that he (Rama Kamatee) had written a letter, in December 1717, to Kanhojee Angria, persuading him not to deliver up the English ship "Success," which he (Angria) had captured, unless a considerable ransom should be paid; 2nd, that in October 1718 he had informed Angria that it was the intention of the English to make a descent upon Khaneri, and in consequence of such warning that island had been placed in a state of defence; † 3rd, that in the same month he had intercepted and sent to the

* As this man is called a Brahman in the Records, Grant Duff is of opinion that his name must have been *Komptee*; the Kamatees being an inferior caste. However, as it appears for upwards of twenty years in the Records, and always written as above or with slight variations, there can be no doubt that he was a Kamatee.

† The following letter, said to have been written on this occasion by Rama

enemy a letter addressed by the Portuguese General of the North to the Governor of Bombay, in which the former expressed his readiness to join his forces with those of the latter, and carry on the war vigorously against Angria; 4th, that he had furnished Angria with a plan for the invasion of Bombay; 5th, that he had been engaged in unlawful traffic with Angria; 6th, that in November 1718, he had endeavoured to intimidate the native troops under his command, and to discourage them from fighting against Angria; 7th, that apprehensive of the consequences to which such conduct must lead, he had in December 1719 transported fourteen chests of treasure, and other portions of his moveable estate from Bombay to Tanna or elsewhere; the bill of indictment concluding thus, "all which matters and facts charged in the several articles before-mentioned are proved and made out by living witnesses now on the spot, and the certificates of other persons, together with letters of the said Rama Kamatee's, directed to the said Kanhojee Angria, contrary to his duty and obligations, whereby he appeareth to be the principal author of the war, and the occasion of its so long continuance, by thus secretly and wickedly combining with the enemy against the dignity and interest of the said Right Honourable Company, and the liberty and life of their Honourable Governor, and all the English inhabitants of the said island."

As this trial lasted for some days, and the prolix details would not be interesting to our readers, we content ourselves with relating what occurred at an examination of the prisoner on Sunday the 27th of March, as it is, we believe, the last instance of any English Government making use of a barbarous practice which had long been abolished in Great Britain, although continued in France up to the period of the Revolution.

Kamatee to Angria, is a curious specimen of the style used in addressing the petty princes of India:—

"To the opulent and magnificent as the sun, valorous and victorious, always courageous, the liberal, prudent, and pillar of fortitude, the essence of understanding, the protector of Braminees, defender of the faith, prosperous in all things, honored of kings, above all councillors, Senior Cannojee Angria, Sarqueell.

"Ramajee Komatee, your servant, writes with all the veneration and readiness for your service, and with your favor I remain as always.

"Our General here has resolved in Council to attack and take the Fort of Cundry, and thus it is agreed to environ the said Fort the 17th of October, and the Armado, powder and ball, and all other necessaries for war are ready." I therefore write your Honor that you may have the said Fort well furnished. As for the side of Rajaporee, I have spoke to and agreed with Allee Naiq Loucaudee that they of Rajaporee shall not help either party; thus I have given this notice. I do not write more, only beg that you'll retain me in your favor. Dated the 12th of October."

The prisoner, hearing his clerk named Govindjee summoned as a witness, raised a preliminary objection against any evidence that he might offer, because he was acting under compulsion. An explanation was of course demanded, and then Governor Boone, seeing that secrecy could be no longer maintained, volunteered the following information. Fourteen days ago, he said, Govindjee the witness being confined in "the Trunk"—a corruption of the Marathoe word for a jail—and seeing Serjeant Collison engaged in writing, had borrowed from him pen, ink, and paper, with which he had himself indited a note. The wary serjeant suffered him to complete it, and then, having snatched it out of his hand, carried it to Major Vane, his commanding officer, who transmitted it to the Governor. No address was written on it, but it was conjectured to be meant for Rana Kamatee, as it informed some one that the writer had been examined about some letters and money, but had made no disclosures, and was resolved not to make any. It also suggested that the unknown should not be sparing with his money, but use it liberally and judiciously. No further notice was taken of this matter at the time, nor until some days after, when Govindjee had contrived to write another letter, which, also being intercepted, was found to state that the former letter had fallen into the hands of Major Vane, and that the writer was most anxious to regain his liberty. Further information was given that a clerk attached to a company of sepoy had rolled a letter up in a parcel with some condiments, and delivered it to a kitchen-boy, who threw it into the prison. On his own responsibility the Governor then examined the clerk respecting the contents of this letter, but could not induce him to make any disclosures. So availing himself of his antiquarian knowledge, and remembering, we presume, that the degenerate Romans allowed an unrestricted use of the *questio* in cases of treason, his Honour resolved to try whether the secret could be wrenched out, and, to use his own words, the man "did not confess till irons were screwed upon his thumbs, the smart whereof brought him to confession, that there was a letter in the rag with the kismishes (condiments) which Govindjee's son had delivered to him to be conveyed to his father." Govindjee himself was then examined, and although he denied all knowledge of the letter, his equivocation betrayed him, so that it became necessary to squeeze the truth out of him also. His Honour, as chief inquisitor, had the terrible irons applied, and Govindjee confessed all that was required.

In the annals of Western India we have no other instance of

'the question' being used by the English Government than this ; but we shall find that some years later they were on the point of employing native judges to use it for them, and the Dutch in India carried torture to as great a degree of barbarity as had ever been attained in the feudal states of Europe.* On this occasion the Governor's bye-play with the two clerks and thumbkins had no other effect than to diminish the value of the evidence for the prosecution, and to provide Rama Kamatee with a plausible defence, of which he readily availed himself. But there were so many other witnesses who—it was supposed—had not been tampered with, that the case against the prisoner was thought sufficiently strong to establish his guilt. His letters to Angria were produced in court, and to some of them a seal, sworn to be his, was attached. One witness deposed, that having gone to Colaba, and there induced a favourite dancing-girl to intercede with Angria for the restoration of the "Success," the pirate-chief assured her that the ship did not really belong to the English, as he knew by information received from Rama Kamatee, but to a merchant of Surat. A Portuguese secretary acknowledged that he had written the letter addressed by the General of the North to the Governor of Bombay, and which Rama had prevented from reaching its destination. But all this and much other evidence not being considered sufficient to prove the charge of high treason against the prisoner, his judges were unanimous in finding him guilty only of high crimes and misdemeanours. In any case they would not have ventured to inflict capital punishment upon him, as they did not consider themselves legally entrusted with the power to do so, except in cases of piracy. To be sure, there were ways of evading the difficulty, for when, as frequently happened, Government were prosecutor, counsel, and judge, it was easy to prove that a man was a pirate ; or, if that could not be done, they might, as Hamilton declares they did at Fort St. George, leave him to starve in prison, or again, "flog him out of this world into the next." As for the unhappy Rama, he was

* Stavorinus, a Dutch Rear Admiral, was an eye-witness of the frightful tortures which the officers of the Dutch East India Company inflicted at the Cape of Good Hope, then a Dutch Settlement. He writes : "Punishments are very severe here, especially with regard to oriental slaves. In the year 1768 I saw one, who had set a house on fire, broken alive upon the wheel, after the flesh had been torn from his body with red-hot pincers, without his giving any sign of pain during the execution of this barbarous sentence, which lasted full a quarter of an hour." The accounts of punishments in Batavia are too horrible to be transcribed.—*Voyages to the East Indies*, by the late John Sphuter Stavorinus, Esq., Rear Admiral. Vol. 1.

consigned to the perpetual horrors of a dungeon, and his property—part of which being within the walls of what is now called the Fort must have been particularly valuable—was confiscated.*

After considering the question of Rama Kamatee's guilt or innocence, it is impossible to form a conclusion with any high degree of accuracy ; but we have no reasonable doubt that Government was the tool of a base conspiracy, and as such committed a cruel act of oppression. It is probable that the prisoner, with a native love of intrigue, had so far played a double game as to hold secret communications with Angria, but the evidence adduced to prove that those were treasonable was damnably false. Never even in Indian Courts of law were perjury and forgery used with less scruple and more subtlety. Many years afterwards, when the condemned man had pined in a prison, his family were sunk into the depths of poverty, and his judges reposing comfortably in the belief that they had administered impartial justice, it oozed out that vile caitiffs had forged the letters which were produced against him, and attached to them fictitious seals. The Government of the day thus recorded an opinion of their predecessors' act :—" Though the then President and Council might act consistently with what appeared to them, yet from the information of our people it is looked upon by the generality of the inhabitants to have been a rigorous measure." Under instructions from the Court of Directors they made restitution to the family by allowing a small pension to Rama's son ; and although the Company still claimed the bulk of his father's property for debts which they affirmed were due to them, they paid him four thousand rupees in compensation for loss which he had sustained by wrong valuation. But what a lesson did the natives learn of British justice ! It must have seemed to them only a muddy stream at best, and they discovered that it could be easily turned aside by the weak and unsound evidence which pain extorts, or the lies and cunning counterfeits of ingenious hate ; yes, even by the hearsay evidence of a corrupted prostitute !†

The two other trials we are to mention are also curious as illustrating the state of justice and civilisation. Mr. Braddy and

* " They cannot inflict the pain of death any other way than by whipping or ~~starving~~, only for piracy they can hang, and some have been so fond of that privilege, that Mr. Yale hanged his groom for riding two or three days' journey off to take the air." (Hamilton's " New Account," Chapter xxix) Ten or twenty years later Natives were frequently executed.

† We have compared the Diary of the time with that for the 8th October 1741, 11th November and 30th December 1743 ; and the Court's General Letter dated 11th March 1742. Before Rama's death both he and Govindjee memorialised the Court.

his wife had been insulted by a trooper, who almost rode over them at night, and being remonstrated with answered, "God d— you; if I had a pistol I would shoot you through the head for a farthing." "Would you so?" asked Braddyl. "Yes, I would," said the man, "you are a' rogue and a rascal." A certain Matthew Bogle was fixed upon next morning as the culprit, and the gentleman insulted was both the prosecutor and one of the judges to try the case! How could poor Matthew prove his innocence before such a tribunal? He^e was condemned "to receive thirty-nine lashes in the public bazaar, and to be sent on board one of the Company's vessels, there to serve during the Governor's pleasure without pay."*

A belief in witchcraft, which, after leading the Puritans of Massachusetts to commit terrible murders under the form of law, had for thirty years been exploded even in the American colonies, was still entertained by the Government of Bombay. The Records of the Court of Justice show that an ignorant woman, named Bastok, was more than once whipped for what were called "diabolical practices." Like too many Europeans of past days in India, this insatuated creature had imbibed native superstitions, and professed to cure sick persons by the use of charmed rice. Convicted of this offence on the 5th of July 1724, she was admitted by the Court to have been guilty of witchcraft, not from evil intention, but from ignorance; and so they enlighten her dark mind in this wise:—the Court orders that "she receive eleven lashes at the church-door, and afterwards she and all persons that are found guilty of the like do such penance in the Church as customary."†

Although the sittings of Council were now much more decorously conducted than in the days of Sir Nicholas Waite, and the members did not come to actual blows, harmony was by no means uninterrupted. Lawrence Parker, the Deputy Governor, was very troublesome on several occasions. We have already seen Mr. Cobbe taking up the cudgels for him when suspended by his colleagues from office; and in 1720 he was unanimously condemned by them for surreptitiously erasing the signature which he had attached to a minute; but when they would again have suspended him Mr. Braddyl dissented, because, although Parker had committed an error, his intentions appeared to be pure. Much of the Council's time was occupied in investigating com-

* Government Diary, 15th April 1724.

† Kaye's Administration of the East India Company, Part iii. Chap. i.

plaints brought against this unmanageable member. He was charged with neglecting his duty and not attending their consultations, upon which he summoned "Dr. Cobbe" as a witness to prove that he had been prevented by illness. Then Captain Gordon appeared to prefer a complaint against him, because "his Worship's sepoy had seized his slave-boy." The Council pronounced their Deputy Governor to have been guilty of aggravated offences, which at first he admitted, but afterwards retracted his admission.

Every office at this time had its numerous perquisites, and so long as the holder was not too extortionate, he was allowed to increase his slender income by all kinds of pickings. But Captain Ingram, the Purveyor General for the marine and land services, had become so rapacious, that the cries of his victims forced the slumbering law to arouse itself. He had been in the habit of charging double its value for all wood which he provided, and had added fifty per cent. to the price of fish and other articles of consumption. His offence, however, was not regarded as very heinous. Government dealt leniently with him, and only compelled him to refund two thousand four hundred rupees.

One other illustrative incident so amused us when our eyes first lighted upon it, that, small as it is, we feel bound to share the joke with our readers; for it is an instance of cheap liberality which has few parallels, and of the proverb "Look not a gift horse in the mouth" being practically taught to natives. Wishing to gain credit for munificence, the Government resorted to a pitiful *dodge*, of which we will give the account as entered in the diary of their consultations:—

"22nd May 1724.—There being four horses in the stables, altogether unserviceable, and if offered for sale not likely to fetch anything, the President proposes presenting them to four of the most considerable Banian merchants on the island, which may be courteously taken; and to render them the more acceptable, offers the dressing of them with a yard and a half of red cloth; which the Board agreeing to, the Warehouse-keeper is hereby directed to issue out six yards for that purpose, to be presented on his Majesty's birthday, the 28th instant."

And did not Banians know then, as well as they know now, the value of dogs' meat wrapt in scarlet?—or were those birds so young then that they could be taken with chaff?

Turning away our eyes a little from Bombay, we observe the political condition of India, that we may comprehend the relations of the English Government with Native Powers. Upon the

death of the Emperor Aurungzebe in 1707, there followed, as usual, a disputed succession, and only after a most severe contest did his eldest son, Mohammed Mauzim, seat himself on the throne with the title of Bahadur Shah. After his death in 1712, anarchy again prevailed: several tribes of Hindus revolted from the empire, and the petty governors oppressed the people according to their pleasure. He was succeeded by his son, Jehandur Shah, who in 1713 was put to death; and then rose the family of the Seids, whose influence was for some time paramount, and who in 1718 placed Farokhseer on the throne; then deposed and put him to death. A sketch of the various factions, and their complicated movements, is to be found in a luminous despatch written by the Chief and Council of Surat, who were in constant expectation of revolutions which might materially affect their masters' interests. They proceed to state that the two brothers of the Seid family,—Abdulla Khan and Hosein Ali Khan,—were then regarded as the king-makers of Hindustan, but some most eminent noblemen were seeking for opportunities to destroy their power. Six months previous to the date of the despatch, Cheen Kilich Khan—called by the writers Chickles Khan, and afterwards celebrated as Nizam Ooll Moolk—had left Onjein, of which province he was Nawab, with a resolution to establish for himself an independent kingdom. Having raised an army of forty thousand horse, and given out that he was accompanied by a prince of the blood royal, whom he intended to place on the throne of his ancestors, he marched upon Asseerghur, of which he gained possession by intrigue, took the wealthy city of Burhampoor, where he established a garrison, and then continued his march towards Aurungabad. Hosein Ali, the Seid and Nawab of the Deccan, who was then nursing his ambition at Delhi, sent to the relief of Alam Ali Khan, his deputy at Aurungabad, a force of thirteen thousand horse under Seid Dilawer Khan; but these succours were intercepted and defeated with great slaughter by Cheen Kilich. The power of the Nizam was thus laid on a solid foundation, and this dismemberment of the Empire, together with that of the Maratheo usurpation, left Western and Central India in a mere nominal subjection to the Mogul throne.*

- Although the old Empire was thus decayed, so as to have even lost its power of inflicting injury on our English merchants, some of its dissevered branches had taken root and were growing with rank luxuriance. Already had the Marathas become a pa-

* Diary of the Surat Factory, 20th and 22nd June 1720.

rent stock, and put forth a branch which, as it grew, encroached most dangerously on European trade. Kanhojee Angria, imitating others of his Maratha countrymen, aspired to build for himself a royal house; and, although not master of broad territories, his success in creating a naval force promised him large accessions of power and wealth. Fixing his head quarters in a strong fortress of the Province of Beejapoor,—called Gheria by Mussulmans, but Viziadroog by Hindus,—built on a rocky promontory of the Konkan, about eighty-two miles north of Goa, he sent out his cruisers to plunder ships of all nations. Almost the whole coast between the harbour of Bombay and the neighbourhood of Goa was his dominion, and there was scarcely a creek, bay, harbour, or river-mouth where he had not built fortifications and stationed vessels, so that the small craft which were accustomed to hug the land could scarcely avoid encountering him. His fleet was composed of grabs and gallivats, varying from 150 to 200 tons burthen. The grabs carried broadsides of six and nine pounder guns, and on their main decks were mounted two nine or twelve pounders, pointed forwards through port-holes cut in the bulk-heads, and designed to be fired over the bows. The gallivats carried light guns fixed on swivels; some also mounted six or eight pieces of cannon, from two to four pounders, and all were impelled by forty or fifty stout oars. Eight or ten of these grabs and forty or fifty gallivats, crowded with men, formed the whole fleet, and with smaller numbers their officers often ventured to attack armed ships of considerable burthen. The plan of their assault was this:—Observing from their anchorage in some secure bay that a vessel was in the offing, they would slip their cables and put out to sea, sailing swiftly if there were a breeze, but if not, making the gallivats take the grabs in tow. When within shot, they generally assembled as soon as they could astern of their victim, firing into her rigging until they had succeeded in disabling her. They would then approach nearer and batter her on all sides until she struck; or, if she still defended herself resolutely, a number of gallivats, having two or three hundred men on each, would close with her, and the crews, sword in hand, board her from all quarters.*

In 1717 these cruisers captured the ship "Success," which belonged to the English broker, and was sailing under British colours; the consequence was a war between Angria and the East India Company, which lasted for nearly thirty-eight years. In

* Orme's History of Indostan, Book v.

1719 a force from Bombay endeavoured to surprise Khanery, which he had fortified ; but they were unsuccessful, through the treachery, it was said, of Rama Kamattee, by which the garrison were placed on their guard ; but probably the real traitor was a Portuguese Captain, who allowed a free passage to succours which it was his duty to have intercepted. In April 1720 four of Angria's grabs and ten gallivats attacked the English ship "Charlotte"; and, as her powder failed after a short defence, they captured and carried her into Gheria.*

Irritated by the sallies of these piratical wasps, the Government of Bombay resolved to attack their nest ; and equipped an expedition against Gheria. Mr. Walter Brown was appointed Commander in Chief, and numerous vessels, with a strong detachment of European troops, were mustered ; but there was a difficulty in supplying them with provisions. On the one hand, Englishmen could not be expected to fight without beef ; on the other, the Natives would be shocked to see their revered cows murdered and pickled for the use of the fleet. This was a dilemma ; but at last it was decided that feelings must give way to the exigencies of the service, and an order for a general slaughter was incontinently issued. Then arose a universal cry of wailing—dismayed Hindus interceding for their brutes, and in the first outburst of grief offering a pecuniary compensation to ransom them from impending death. Unmoved by such tender appeals, but yet never deaf to any offer in the way of business, the Governor in Council desired to know what they were prepared to give, and at length four rupees for each animal was accepted as a commutation. By these means a sufficient sum of money was raised to purchase beef for the fleet from persons elsewhere, who, having no scruples on the grounds of metempsychosis or the canonization of brutes, willingly offered hecatombs to British appetite ; and Mr. Brown sailed with his expedition for Gheria. Immediately on entering the river he landed his soldiers, who attacked and put to flight a body of the enemy's troops, whilst a portion of his fleet ascending destroyed sixteen vessels, and with the other portion he made a diversion by firing upon the fort. A platoon of Angria's men, having come so near as to be within range of partridge-shot, the English destroyed half of them ; but in doing so one of their guns burst and killed four of their own men. Mr. Brown's gain and loss ended here : hopeless of making any impression upon the fort itself, he withdrew.

* Grant Duff's History, Vol. i. Hamilton's "New Account." Diary of the Surat Factory, 26th May 1720.

The Government of Bombay celebrated this as a victory, and fired salutes; but, as might have been expected, Angria affirmed it was an inglorious defeat, and, in a taunting letter to the Governor, scoffed at the feeble efforts which the English and Portuguese had made to injure him. We can now smile at the wise saws and edifying proverbs with which his epistles are garnished; but at that time they must have been gall and wormwood to his correspondents. He condescended to make proposals of peace, but Governor Phipps in reply refused to treat until his European prisoners were released. Angria then sent the following rejoinder:—Recapitulating with the utmost exactness the subjects contained in the letter which he had received, he observes how his Excellency reminds him that he (Angria) is solely responsible for their disputes; that the desire of possessing what is another's is a thing very wide of reason; that such insults are a sort of piracy; that if he had only cultivated trade, his port might have vied with the great port of Surat; that those who are least expert in war suffer by it; that he who follows it merely from love for it will find cause to repent; and, lastly, his Excellency refuses to treat of peace until all prisoners are restored. All these matters are then passed under review by Kanhojee, who meets his correspondent's arguments with subtlety and skill in repartee. He delicately hints that the English merchants have also a desire of possessing what is another's, and are not exempt from "this sort of ambition, for this is the way of the world." It was incorrect to say that his government was supported by piracy; it had been established by the Maharaja Sivajee, after he had conquered four kingdoms. If his port were not equal to Surat, it was not for want of indulgence shown to merchants. As for their appeal to the sword, there had been losses on both sides, and it was true that such as love war will find cause to repent, "of which," he slyly insinuates, "I suppose your Excellency hath found proof; for we are not always victorious, nor always so fortunate." He concludes by an assurance that he will agree to an exchange of prisoners; that if the Governor really desire peace, he is quite ready to meet him half way; and adds, "as your Excellency is a man of understanding, I need say no more."

If Angria's arguments were not successful, his piracies were; and he was, on the whole, a gainer by hostilities. Again, in 1722, the galled English made a descent upon his territories and sent three ships under Commodore Matthews, with some Portuguese troops, to the district which is still called Angria's Colaba; but this attempt also was abortive. The Dutch, too, met with no better success

when in 1724 they sent seven ships, with two mortar vessels and some regular troops, against Gheria. They seem to have totally failed.*

Nor was Angria the only piratical power from whose depredations the English trade suffered; for the Sanganians, whose name disappears a few years later from the English chronicles, were still dangerously active. An attempt made by them in 1717 to capture the English ship called the "Morning Star," led to the severest of the many contests which have been waged on the Western Coast of India. Ascertaining through their spies that she was on her passage from Gombroon to Surat with a valuable cargo, the pirates waylaid her with two squadrons from two of their ports; and when she appeared in sight, they had one vessel of nearly five hundred tons, three others of between two and three hundred, and four smaller craft, carrying in all about two thousand men. Only seventeen fighting men were on board the "Morning Star," but they were resolute and prepared to defend themselves to the last. The pirate's large ship opened the engagement by coming at once to close quarters, and the English commander's thigh was pierced with a lance; but they were then compelled to sheer off. After taking a day to consider a new plan of attack, they threw their two largest vessels on the Englishman's bows, another on his quarter, and closed with three others, so as to board him from five points. A desperate conflict ensued; seven men of the "Morning Star" were killed, and as many wounded; she was set on fire in three places, so that her poop and half-deck were burnt through; but after four hours her crew contrived to disengage her, and leaving her five enemies so entangled with one another that they could not give chase, she bore away with all speed for Bombay. One of her native seamen, and twenty-six native merchants who had gone from her to the pirates with the hope of dissuading them from their attempt, remained in their hands, and the Sanganians received six hundred pounds for their ransom. So dissatisfied, however, were their chiefs with this result, that they ordered the officer who commanded their fleet to be put to death.

Madagascar continued to be, as it had been for a century, a stronghold of pirates. In 1720 two of their vessels sailed boldly against three ships as they were lying at anchor—two, called the "Greenwich" and "Cassandra" being English, the third belonging to the Ostend Company. The "Greenwich" and Qstender weighed and put to sea, but the "Cassandra" ran by accident on some rocks.

* Grant Duff's History. Consultation Book of the Bombay Government, 6th September 1720.—Diaries kept at Bombay and Surat.

The only piratical vessel which attacked her was of Dutch build, with twenty-four guns; and she also grounded about twenty yards from the Englishman, so that she lay with her head towards his broadside. In this predicament her decks were swept by the "Cassandra's" guns, and her crew compelled to seek shelter in the hold; but on her companion coming to her assistance, the English captain found it necessary to save the lives of himself and crew by taking to their boats. The most remarkable part of this affair was, that he afterwards had the address and courage to visit the pirates, and so gained upon their better feelings by his judicious appeals, that they presented to him their own vessel which he had so severely battered. With this he and his distressed crew reached Bombay in September, when their bravery was rewarded by the compassion and liberality of the Governor. Commodore Matthews sailed with his grabs to revenge this and other injuries the same year that he failed in his attempt on Colaba, and first visited St. Mary's, the pirates' favourite resort, where he found that the birds had flown, but left traces of their plunder—abundance of pepper lying exposed on the ground. Prosecuting his search on the main island, he could only learn that they had run their small craft up rivers and creeks, where he dared not follow them, and all his operations ended in a parley which had no good result.*

We will now inquire into the transactions of some European Powers. The French, who were soon to act such a prominent part on the continent of India, were as yet little heard of on the Western side. They lingered at Surat, but transacted no business; and only lived upon the hope that their trade would some day revive. The murder of an Englishman named Thomas Simpson, by a Frenchman, led to a correspondence between them and the English Government; but as they also had not the power of inflicting capital punishment, they could only send the culprit to Pondicherry†. The communications of the English with the Portuguese were more important, and concerned the internal economy of Bombay.

The old complaint, that the Indo-Portuguese clergy were enemies within the camp, was revived, and led to ecclesiastical disputes which have continued—only in an altered phase—to this day. Whenever the English Government had a quarrel with the Portuguese of Bassein or Tanna, these clergy of Bom-

* Hamilton's "New Account," Chapters ii. and xii.

† Letter from Bombay to Surat, dated 9th January 1723; and Surat Diary 24th April 1723.

bay naturally took their countrymen's part, and urged their flocks, who numbered as many as six thousand souls, to follow their example. After long enduring the annoyance and danger of this interference, the President and Council believed they could escape from it by an alteration in the patronage and jurisdiction of the Roman Catholic Churches. Hitherto the patronage had remained with the Crown of Portugal, as it had been before the island was ceded to the English ; but it appears to us, although we have no direct evidence to prove it, that about this time the Government encouraged the parishioners to choose their own vicars. Such a choice is now claimed by the people of some parishes as a prescriptive right, or, rather, they maintain that they have from time immemorial exercised a *velo*. Yet it is scarcely credible that even this limited privilege, which is not enjoyed elsewhere by members of the Church of Rome, was first granted to the people under Portuguese rule, and certainly a right of *selecting and electing* their own clergy was first obtained by the Indo-Portuguese under British rule ; nor can we assign any date for its introduction save that of which we are now writing. The change of nomination and election followed in regular sequence upon a change of jurisdiction. When the Government of Bombay resolved to take all authority out of the hands of the Archbishop of Goa, because his interests and those of his creatures were Portuguese, they also contrived that the patronage should pass from the representatives of the Portuguese Crown.

A means of changing the jurisdiction was opportunely presented by the establishment at Surat of a Carmelite Mission from the College of the Propaganda at Rome, and the advent of a prelate who was styled Vicar Apostolic. This Italian, named Frey Mauritio, was invited in October 1719 to reside in Bombay ; and in May 1720 the Government, complying with an order of the Court of Directors, decided that, as the Portuguese prelates chose to send them " the very scum of the priesthood," they would take care that the Churches of the island should be supplied from another source. They therefore transferred four Churches to the priests of the Carmelite Mission, with Don Frey Mauritio at their head on a salary of Rs. 40 *per mensem*, and required all to swear that they would pay allegiance to the King of England, would not, directly or indirectly, teach, preach, or practise anything contrary to the interest or dignity of the Crown, or East India Company, and would submit to the orders of the Governor in Council.*

* The following are the words of the oath taken by the Bishop : —

" I, Don Frey Mauritio, of Sancta Teresã, Bishop of Anastasiopolis, Vicar Ge-

When this oath had been taken, proclamation was made, requiring "all inhabitants of the Roman Catholic religion to pay the same obedience to the Bishop Don Frey Mauritio de Sancta Teresa, and the priests appointed by him, as they formerly did to the Portuguese Bishop and priests." Thus placed in authority by a Protestant Government, and virtually acknowledging it, on this occasion at least, as the fountain of honour and spiritual power, Don Frey Mauritio remained in his charge until his death in 1726, and was succeeded by Peter of Alcantara, styled Bishop of Areopolis in Asia Minor, and Apostolic Vicar of the Mogul Empire, the Kingdom of Idalcan and Golconda, and the Island of Bombay. As for the Portuguese clergy, they were ordered to quit the island within twenty-four hours from the time of the proclamation by which their ancient privileges were abolished.

It does not appear that the Portuguese parishioners clung with particular affection to their clergy, or in any way resisted their summary ejection. On the contrary, when the General of the North—as the Governor of Bassein, Diu, Damaun, and Chaul, residing at Bassein, was styled—remonstrated against the measure, Governor Boone replied that it was according to the Honorable Company's orders and "the earnest longings of the people in general"—a strong assertion which could easily have been contravened if false, and which he would scarcely have ventured to make on insufficient grounds.* The truth is, the Indo-Portuguese have shown themselves very capricious in these matters, oscillating between the jurisdictions of the Archbishop of Goa and Vicars Apostolic; to which indecision, or love of change, must be attributed the discreditable frays and expensive litigation in which they have since been involved.

But, although the Roman Catholics of Bombay cheerfully com-

neral in the Empire of the Great Mogul, of the Island of Bombay and the jurisdiction thereof do swear upon the holy Evangelists (on which I have placed my right hand) entirely to obey His Most Serene Majesty of Great Britain, and that I will never, directly or indirectly, teach, preach, or practise anything contrary to the honor and dignity of the Crown of his said Most Serene Majesty, or to the interest of the Right Honorable English Company, and that I will pay all obedience to the orders of the Honorable the Governor for the time being, and to exercise the Roman Catholic religion according to its primitive institution, without any alteration. In witness whereof I have heretofore set my hand this 6th day of May 1720." Padre Frey Pedro, of the most Holy Trinity, and Frey Elize de St. Joseph took and subscribed the same oath. Query,—Is the Roman Catholic religion still practised "according to its primitive institution," and are the concluding words of this oath consistent with the doctrine of 'development' which is now commonly received?

* Diary of the Surat Factory, 13th October 1719, and of the Bombay Government, in May 1720; also 19th January 1733.

plied with this transfer of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, the case was very different with the Portuguese Government. A complaint was made to the King of Portugal, and forwarded by him to the English Court, through its Ambassador at Lisbon; but it led to no results until sixty-six years afterwards, when the Court of Directors ordered that the Archbishopric of Goa should be restored to its ancient rights. As for the General of the North, he showed immediately his resentment, by endeavouring to prevent all subjects of Portugal from holding communication with Bombay, prohibiting the transport of provisions, seizing English craft as it passed down the Mahim river, and declaring that he would hold no further correspondence with Governor Boone, unless the dismissed priests were reinstated. These injuries and insults became so intolerable, that on the 5th of July 1720 the Governor in Council retaliated by aiming a blow at Portuguese absentees, proclaiming that the property of all such as did not repair to Bombay within twenty-one days would be confiscated, and, when none made their appearance, ordering the *Veriadores* to collect the produce of their estates for the benefit of Government. The ill-feeling thus prevailing between the two nations was raised to fever-heat by a gross outrage committed by the Portuguese on two messengers who conveyed this proclamation to Salsette. They seized and carried the unfortunate pair with irons on their limbs, in mock triumph, first to Tanna, then to Bandora, where they put their fortitude to the test by hoisting them on a gibbet. The two men of peace were indeed suffered to return sound in wind and limb; but, according to their own artless admission, "they were made very sore and mighty terrified." Such a violation of national law on the part of the Portuguese was received as a declaration of war, and a small body of British troops, marching to the Straits of Mahim, threw a shell or two into the fortified Church of Bandora. Seeing a few of their number killed and wounded, the enemy were soon humbled, begged for terms, and engaged to desist from further aggressions. A fresh outbreak of theirs, two years afterwards, had a similar termination.*

Now, let us suppose ourselves leaving Bombay and coasting along with a Commissioner to the Southward, stopping occasionally to inspect the English Factories. The Honorable Company had become much dissatisfied with their servants who were stationed in this direction. Rumours had reached England that all was not right. It was remembered that Sir Nicholas Waite,

* *Bombay Diary.* Hamilton's "*New Account*," Chap. xvi.

long dead and gone, had accused the Factors there of peculation, and of charging their masters more than was actually paid for goods. The ships in the Honorable Company's trade took home little pepper; which was chiefly looked for as the produce of these parts, and for what little they did take, they were detained so long that the owners made large claims for demurrage; whilst at the same time ships chartered by private persons were unstinted and their cargoes abundant. It became necessary therefore that the affairs of the southern Factories should be closely scrutinised, and for this purpose the Court of Directors ordered the Government of Bombay to send thither the Worshipful Stephen Strutt, Deputy Governor, with the necessary powers.* In his commission, bearing date the 23rd October 1715, he is instructed to investigate all matters relating to trade at Carwar, Tellicherry, Calicut, and Anjengo; to report upon the account-books of the Factors, the values of current coins with the rates of exchange, the quantity of pepper grown in the districts, and also the price and terms on which it could be procured, the demand for European, Indian, and Chinese merchandise, the sums exacted by native princes under the name either of customs or presents, together with other matters in which the several Factories were respectively and specially concerned. He was also charged with a letter for the Viceroy of Goa, "relating to the ship 'Monsoon' taken by a Savage (Maratha) pirate and retaken by a Portuguese frigate out of the Carwar river in the year 1706."

Having received all his directions, and been committed by the Governor in Council to the Divine protection, Mr. Strutt, with three assistants, embarked on the 24th October 1716, under a salute of thirteen guns, returned by all the ships in the harbour, on board the "Catherine," and, accompanied by the "Anne," commenced a voyage which in those days was sure to be attended with adventures and perils. It is singular to find him when sailing out of the harbour, noting down the appearance of Khanery, the Tenedos of Bombay,—as if it were an island almost unknown because cautiously avoided by all unarmed vessels frequenting the port—and representing to his Government that it was two miles in circumference, thirteen miles distant from the main land and fourteen from Bombay; that Angria had strongly fortified it, and that it was covered with houses. ~~As he~~ passed Malwan on the 31st, a grab and gallivat made their appearance, "the latter firing both her chase guns very impudently," their object being to cut off and make prize of the defenceless

* General Letter, dated 27th March 1714.

"Anne;"* but seven shots from the "Catherine's" guns—none of which, however, hit the mark—scared her away. Next day the party were off Carwar, where they found a Portuguese cruiser, mounting eighteen or twenty guns, and were told that there were two more to the southward, each mounting forty guns,—all of these being placed there to keep the coast clear, but in reality doing a little piracy on their own account, and fearing to approach either Angria or the pirates of Malwan. Having landed at Carwar and the other Factories, Mr. Strutt exhibited his commission, and left certain written interrogatories, which he desired should be answered before his return. At Cochin, which the Dutch had possessed for fifty-two years, he was warmly pressed by the Commodore to go ashore, but declined. Permission, however, having been given to some other Europeans, they visited "the Baron," and reported that "he was mighty affable and courteous," although, like many other Dutch officers of distinction, he had been promoted from the ranks. At Anjengo the Commissioner performed the painful duty of dismissing two of the Company's servants, and the pleasant one of announcing that Mr. Kiffin, of whom all had a high opinion, was appointed Chief. On mustering the garrison, he found them to consist of a Captain and Ensign, 41 Europeans, 80 topasses and Africans, and a gunner with a small party under his command; their arms being in bad order, and their twenty cannon of all sizes mounted on carriages of various fashions. With the gentlemen of the Factory he was rowed seven miles up the river to Attinga, where he found that there was no Queen; but two heiresses to the throne were waiting to have their claims adjusted.† Embarking again at Carwar he steered towards

* "The intent was for the 'Anne,' who being astern we had lain by before or they had pushed her, not having any stern ports and the stern being what these Savages annoy others with, and have three guns, are the properest weapons to fight them." We give this queer extract from the Commissioner's report, as it shows the mode of fighting adopted by Angria's corsairs, and these pirates of Malwan. The latter, says Grant Duff, were subjects of the Raja of Kolapore, but this the Government of Bombay seem not to have known, supposing that they belonged to the Sawunt Waree country. Hamilton's Account is different, and is thus:—"About twelve leagues to the southward of Gheria, is an island about two miles in circumference, and fortified with a stone wall round it, called Malwan. It lies about a mile from the main land, and is governed by an independent Rajah, who is also a freebooter, and keeps three or four grabs at sea to rob all whom they can master. And that is all I know of him."—*Chap. xx.*

† The law of regal succession in this petty state was a curious contrast to the Gallic law called Salic—men being excluded from the throne. From remote antiquity princesses of Attinga had possessed the sovereignty of Travancore, but a few years after this an alteration was made in this respect.

Bombay, and near Cabo de Rama, vulgarly styled Cape Raymus, seeing three grabs supposed to be engaged in piracy, with a ship in tow, he gave chase and fired a broadside at them ; but it is clear that the gunnery-practice on the "Catherine" was bad, so the pirates escaped with their prize. At Goa the Viceroy "was mighty courteous, and expressed a mighty desire of a good correspondence with the English ;" but he was not so polite as to restore the " Monsoon," which he affirmed had been in the hands of the pirates for thirteen days, and having been captured by the Portuguese after so long a detention, must be regarded as their lawful prize ; nor could a priest—whose advocacy, as usual at Goa under such circumstances, was engaged for a pecuniary consideration—change this adverse verdict. At Gheria, Mr. Strutt's boats were suffered to pass without molestation, and he even exchanged civilities with Angria's brother, Angria himself having marched against the Siddee. On the 28th of January 1715, the "Catherine" anchored safely in the harbour of Bombay, and the Commissioner's exciting voyage of three months was happily terminated.*

At Carwar the English were for long engaged in a little war. Having once been plundered by Mogul troops, the Factory had since been strongly fortified, and to this the inmates now owed their liberty, perhaps their lives ; for the Raja of the country,

* Records of Government.

"The merchants' report of the taking of the " Monsoon," the 12th February 1704, by the Girrea Savajees :—

"This day the 'Aurenzeb' sailed out of Carwar harbour to Mangalore, at which time the Girrea Savajees, with 4 grabs and 35 galvats (Nillu Purboo General of the fleet), lay in Bed Cove. She met the " Monsoon" off Anjidiva, and told Mr. Wilcox, Supracargoe, the news. The night they kept company together till they came off Collaceou. Captain Edwards offered to see him off Cape Raymas ; but he said he did not fear them. About midnight Captain Edwards parted company. Early in the morning the Savajees came out of the cove and engaged the " Monsoon" for three hours, at which time he surrendered. They brought him to the cove. Next day Mr. Mildmay wrote off to Nillu Purboo, and he delivered up all the Europeans. They said they had very little ammunition on board, having but 18 shott. After the engagement Mr. Mildmay immediately wrote to the Vice-Roy this news. The Savajees kept the " Monsoon" 4 days in Bed Cove. They went out with a design to carry her to Girrea, but off Goa they had a strong northerly wind that they could hardly carry sail. At which time came out from Alvarda 1 frigate, 1 grab, 1 Portuguese merchant, and a fighting munchua. The Savajees put afore the ~~frigate~~, and the Portuguese chased them. They ran the ship ashore in Bed Cove in the night, and left her, having plundered her of 4 bales of cloth. The Portuguese fired random shott all that night. Next morning, seeing nobody aboard, they lightened her and hauled her off. The Savajees would fain have persuaded the Rajah's people to fire upon the Portuguese, which they refused. The Portuguese the same day carried the " Monsoon" to Goa. The Savajees had her in possession 9 days. This is all the merchants know of this matter.—Carwar, 4th January 1714-15."

or, as he was styled, the Dessae, having thrown off his allegiance to the Raja of Satara, considered that it was one of his royal privileges to claim all wrecks on the coast as his property, and resented the conduct of Mr. George Taylor, the Chief, who had appropriated to himself the cargo of a ship cast ashore in the neighbourhood. Having raised a considerable body of troops, the Dessae marched against the Factory in the monsoon of 1718, and besieged it for two months before succours could be brought from Bombay. Then followed a severe struggle. So high did the surf run, that a first attempt to land the English troops was unsuccessful, and about eighty men were either killed or taken prisoners. When a second attempt had been more fortunate, no further operations were tried, until at the end of six weeks there was a contest for a spring of water near the shore. Four hundred of the troops from Bombay, under cover of their small vessels, then attacked the enemy, who were put to flight, leaving two hundred dead bodies in the woods. Again the English were compelled to wait for reinforcements, contenting themselves with capturing some boats laden with salt, and a hundred and fifty horses which were being imported from Arabia for the Dessae. Mustering at length 2,250 men, they landed 1,250, where the shore was swept by two of their prizes converted into floating batteries, and two of their grabs mounting respectively 20 and 24 guns. Instead, however, of at once attacking the enemy, who were preparing to decamp, the English officers, with the zeal of novices in the military art, must needs go through all the manoeuvres prescribed by the laws of tactics, and make a slow clumsy effort to form a hollow square. Encouraged by their delay, the enemy took heart and attacked them, upon which the interloping narrator, who always had an eye for any ludicrous exposure of the Company's servants, beheld a scene which must have satisfied their most malicious rivals. The English Commandant, he declares, "pulled off his red coat and vanished," the other officers imitating his discretion; and the men, throwing down their arms, all took to their heels, leaving 250 dead upon the field. The pursuit was happily checked by the guns of the floating batteries; and eighty seamen, putting the soldiers to shame, recovered two hundred muskets which had been thrown away loaded. The Dessae was unable to follow up his success, and as his army of 7,000 men proved too great a strain upon his finances, he made overtures of peace. Through the mediation of a Sidde, terms were arranged; but the Native Prince retained his dislike for Taylor, the English Chief, and probably it was on account of this ill-feeling that the Com-

pany found it necessary to withdraw their Factory, which, we are told, was "nothing but a genteel prison."

At Calicut the tide of English affairs had ebbed, and in 1714 the Chief suffered much personal loss from the failure of an attempt to check the encroachments of the Dutch, who had commenced building a fort on land which the Zamorin claimed as his own; but which, they maintained, had been given them by the Raja of Cochin. Instigated by the English Chief, the Zamorin determined to repel them, but preferred stratagem to open force; and some of his soldiers, who in the disguise of labourers had offered their services to the Dutch, seizing a favourable moment when the two lieutenants in charge of the works were amusing themselves with a game of backgammon, surprised a sentinel, made a signal to some of their friends who lay in ambush, and captured the half-built fort. One of the lieutenants advancing to retake the works, was killed; on which the other made a speedy retreat with his men, for which act of cowardice he was tried by a court martial, and shot. But the Zamorin's success was transient, as the Dutch, assisted by the Rajas of Cochin, Paru, and Porcat, easily compelled him to accept their terms, and even to consent that the trade should fall into their hands. Mr. Adams, the English Chief, thus lost his private traffic in opium, of which he had annually imported from Bengal from five hundred to a thousand chests for sale in the interior; and the Company were deprived for a time of a profitable trade in pepper, which their Factors had been accustomed to bring down the river in large quantities for exportation. The consequence was, that the Factors were removed to Tellicherry, and only a Portuguese agent, styled "the linguist," retained at Calicut.

At Tellicherry the Company had obtained in 1708 the grant of a mud fort which originally belonged to the French, and which after a few years the English converted into a solid structure. For twenty years the Chief was engaged in hostilities of trifling importance with the principal Nair of the place, who claimed, as lord of the manor, two bales of rice from every vessel discharging cargo at Tellicherry, and every tenth fish brought to the market; but this tax the English would not permit him to receive, nor would they commute it for an annual payment of twenty pounds, which paltry sum would have been considered an equivalent. They lavished more money upon the fortifications than would have paid for the whole of their investments, and kept up a considerable force of Europeans and Goanese. Punch-houses for the men were private speculations of the officers, and, in con-

formity with an odious custom then prevalent in the British army, and but recently abolished, every soldier was compelled to take his dram. If an omission to do so could be proved against him at pay day, it was regarded as a military offence.*

The Factors of Anjengo were in 1721 horror-stricken by one of those calamities which so frequently chequered the lives of Englishmen in India. As the country was involved in civil broils, William Kiffin, the Chief, distrusting the Ranee of Attinga's collectors, declared that he would not pay his annual tribute to any one but herself. In vain they offered to give him a receipt, and urged him to comply with their demands; so, when he continued obstinate, they significantly told him to do as he pleased. Taking two of his Council and a numerous suite, the unsuspecting Chief paid his visit. The whole party, with the exception of a few Native servants, who with difficulty made their escape, were murdered. Although the English suspected that the Dutch had approved of this atrocity, we are willing to accept their disclaimer, and to believe that they regarded it with abhorrence.†

The history of the Factory at Surat is, as usual, a narrative of insults, injuries, and robberies committed by weak and tyrannical Governors. They did not, however, now, as formerly, threaten the Company's trade on the western side of India with extinction; for, as the English had a fortified island, they could retire thither and demand satisfaction, or take their revenge. In 1712 the English actually did leave Surat, and their Factory was closed for three years; but then an embassy from the Factory at Hooghly, backed by magnificent presents and the surgical skill of Mr. Hamilton, exercised such a favourable influence upon the Court of Delhi, that the Emperor not only granted the privileges which they required in Bengal, but also prohibited the Nawab of Guzerat and Subhadar of the Deccan from placing impediments in the way of English trade. On this occasion his Majesty granted them a new firman, according to which all duties on the Company's imported goods were commuted for an annual peishcush, or tribute, of ten thousand rupees. Forty beegahs, or about fifteen acres, of ground were granted them wherever they might choose to establish a Factory, and all vessels which might be wrecked on

* "New Account," Chaps. xxiv, and xxv. Hamilton's East India Gazetteer. MS. Report of Mr. Strutt's Commission.

† Hamilton's "New Account," Chap. xxii. &c. Diary of the Bombay Government, May 1740. The Dutch then wrote thus from Cochin:—"Nothing can be imagined more malicious than the accusation your Honour and Council alledged against us, as if we approved of the detestable massacre perpetrated by the Queen of Attinga on your nation in the year 1721."

the coast were ordered to be protected from plunder and exorbitant demands for salvage. In 1716, on the receipt of this imperial mandate, the English returned to their Factory, and their affairs reverted to their ancient channel.*

* Grant's Sketch of the East India Company. Diary of the Surat Factory, October 1719.

As the firman obtained on this occasion was frequently appealed to, in after years, by the Factors of Surat, and was the last to which any importance was attached, we give a translation of it from the Persian, as made by Mr. Fraser, one of the Factors, and entered in the Records :—

"Governors, Aumils, Jagheerdars, Foudjars, Crories, Rhadars, Goujirbans, and Zemindars who are at present, and shall be hereafter in the Soubah of Ahmedabad and the fortunate Port of Surat and Cambay, being in hopes of the royal favour,—Know that at this time of conquest, which carries the ensign of victory, Mr. John Surman and Choja Surhud, English Factors, have represented to those who stand at the foot of the high throne, that Customs are remitted on English goods all over the Empire, except at the port of Surat ; and that at the said port, from the time of Shah Jehan, two per cent. was fixed for the Customs ; from the time of Aurangzebe, three and a half per cent. was appointed ; and in other places, none molested them on this account ; and in the time of Bahadur Shah, two and a half per cent. only was fixed, and is in force until now ; but, by reason of this oppression of the Muttaseddees, the English withdrew their Factory three years ago ; and in the Soubahs of Belhar and Orissa this nation pays no Customs ; and in the port of Hooghly, in the Soubah of Bengal, they give yearly three thousand rupees as *Peshkush*, in lieu of Customs. They hope that a yearly peshkush may be fixed at the port of Surat in lieu of Customs, as at other ports, and they agree to a yearly peshkush of ten thousand rupees

"This order, which subjects the world to obey it, and which ought to be followed, is issued, in order that, as they agree to pay ten thousand rupees as peshkush at the port of Surat, you should take it annually, and on no account molest them further ; and whatever goods or effects their Factors may bring or carry away by land or water, to and from the ports of the Soubahs, and other ports, you are to look upon the Customs thereof as free ; let them buy and sell at their pleasure, and if any of their effects are stolen in any place, use your utmost endeavours to recover them, giving the robbers up to punishment and the goods to their owners ; and wherever they settle a Factory, and buy and sell goods, assist them on all just occasions, and if their accounts show that they have a claim upon any merchant, give the English their just due, and let no person injure their Factors. They have likewise petitioned that the Dewans in the Soubahs may have on demand the original Sunnud, or a copy with the Nazim's or Dewan's seal affixed. It would be difficult to produce an original in every place, and they hope that a copy under the Crory's seal will be credited ; and if they do not demand the original Sunnud, they will not be molested on account of a copy with the Nazim's or Dewan's seal ; and in the island of Bombay, belonging to the English, where Portuguese coins are now current, the Fortunate Coins may be struck according to the custom of China-patam ; and any of the Company's servants who may be in debt and run away, must be sent to the Chief of the Factory ; and the Company's servants must not be molested on account of the Foudarie and Abwab Munhai, by which they are vexed and discouraged.

"This strict and high order is issued :—that a copy under the Crory's seal be credited ; and that Fortunate Coins struck in the island of Bombay, according

But, in a very few years, a renewal of attempts to make the English responsible for piracies committed by other nations, led to fresh insults, which had their origin in a deliberate design of extorting money. First of all they were informed that the Factory, which had been secured to them by the Emperor's firman, was bestowed by his Majesty on a Mussulman saint, and that it would therefore be necessary for the Factors to change their abode as soon as possible. At the same time, they were made to understand, that the evil might be averted by a present judiciously made to the Governor, who would then exercise his powerful influence on their behalf at Court ; and the English Chief actually agreed to pay a small sum, the value of which he attempted to enhance by warning his tormentors that if the English were dislodged from their Factory, they would at once withdraw also from Surat, and take their revenge on the trade of the port. Very soon after, a report reached the city, that an European vessel, having been cruising between the Red Sea and Surat, had done much injury to the Native shipping ; but where she came from, no one could tell : only it was suspected that she was Danish. The Governor demanded restitution from the English for losses sustained in consequence of her piracies, and the Mussulman merchants, still more un-

to the custom of the Empire, be current ; and if any of the Company's servants run away in debt let him be taken and delivered to the Chief of the Factory ; and let them not be molested on account of the *Abwab Munhai*. They have likewise represented that the Company have Factories in Bengal, Behar, and Orissa, and that they are willing to settle in other places. They hope that wherever they settle a Factory, forty beegahs of land may be graciously bestowed upon them by the King ; and that when their ships are driven ashore by storms and wrecked, the Governors of the ports oppressively seize their goods, and, in some places, demand a fourth part. The royal order is issued, that they act according to the customs of the Factories in other *Soubahs* ; and as this nation has Factories in the King's ports, and dealings at Court, and have obtained a miraculous firman, exempting them from Customs, take care equitably of the goods of their ships which may be wrecked or lost in their voyages, and in all matters act conformably to this great order, and do not make an annual demand for a new grant. In this be particular.—Written on the 4th of Safir, in the 5th year of this successful reign."

For the sake of the English reader, we subjoin an explanation of the terms used in this firman. *Aumils* are collectors of revenue, or superintendents of districts. *Jagheerdars*, holders of assignments of land. *Fowjdur*, a police magistrate at Surat ; his duties were confined to the suburbs and places in the vicinity. *Croory* or *Kuroory*, an officer who makes himself responsible for the rents of a district. *Rhadur*, a collector of duties payable on the roads. *Gongjirban*, a collector of duties at ferries and passes. *Zemindar*, a landholder who paid a yearly sum to the king. *Mutlaseddee*, an accountant for the *Soubah*. *Peshkush*, a present or tribute. *Dewan*, the Receiver General of a Province. *Nazim*, the first officer of the Province. *Abwab Munhai*, a tax on forbidden things, such as spirituous liquors, courtesans, &c. *Soubah*, a province. *Sunnud*, a patent or charter.

reasonable, crowded in a tumultuous and violent manner the gates of the Factory. The English Chief in vain expostulated, reminding them that his countrymen had ceased to submit tamely to such insults, and that latterly, when injured, they had always demanded and obtained redress and compensation. The infuriated agitators were deaf to reason, and, as they could not gain access to the Factory, assaulted in open Durbar the Company's broker. The Governor, too, placed him in confinement, and stationed a guard over the Factory to prevent ingress and egress, threatening at the same time to seize some treasure which was packed for exportation. Then the Chief, feeling that the moment for making reprisals had arrived, ordered the cruisers at the bar to lay an embargo upon all ships belonging to Mussulmans, and stored a supply of provisions in the Factory, anticipating a blockade, as in the days of Sir John Gayer. However, as it was not then the interest of either the Governor or the merchants to push matters to extremity, negotiations were opened, and terms arranged. It was engaged that the English Factors should no longer be molested; and they, on their parts, bound themselves to make restitution, if any acts of piracy could be proved against the Company's vessels.*

Again were these troubles renewed when Rustum Ali Khan was appointed Governor. He proved to be an unscrupulous oppressor of all such merchants as transacted business with the English, and were entitled to their protection, and was therefore warned by the Government of Bombay that, unless his policy was soon changed, their Factors would be withdrawn, and full satisfaction taken for the injuries they had sustained. Such threats always succeeded now, when appeals to justice had failed, and been only attributed to conscious weakness. Rustum well knew that a withdrawal of the English would be fatal to trade, and would cut him off from one source of profit. So covetousness restrained his tyrannical propensities until the next year, when the Factors were relieved by hearing that this man of violence had met the fate which he deserved. Having espoused the cause of Sirbuland Khan, Governor of Guzerat, in opposition to Hameed Khan, the uncle and deputy of Nizam-ool-moolk, Vizir of the Empire, Rustum marched at the head of his troops, and met his enemy within thirty-six miles of Ahmedabad. Peelajee Gaekwar, the Marathee general, was in his rear, and promised him support; but, true only to his national character, he had at the same time a secret understand-

* Diary of the Surat Factory, 10th December 1719, and for the year 1720.

Residency of Cambay.

ing with Hameed. Then was fought a battle in which Hameed was driven back, and Rustum enjoyed a few moments of triumph, until he found that the flying enemy had been induced to rally by messages from Peelajee, who had also attacked his rear and overthrown his guns. Thus hemmed in, he was deserted by his army, and, as night approached, found himself at the head of only five hundred men, who rapidly dwindled to a hundred and fifty. Having never shown mercy, he hoped for none from his enemies; and believing that if he should then survive, a life of ignominy or a lingering death was in store, he sought refuge in despair, and solved all his difficulties by plunging a dagger into his aching heart. The intelligence of this tragic event, so materially affecting the interests of the English Factors, was brought by a messenger from the Dutch Factory at Ahmedabad, who, as he passed the gates of the city, was bid by the guards to turn his eyes upwards, and take the report of what he saw to Surat. He looked; and there, transfixed by a spear, was the gory head of Rustum.

The deceased Governor was succeeded by his son Sorab Khan, who seemed at first to be following his father's example; for he put a stop to the circulation of Bombay rupees at Surat, seized and confined the assistant-broker of the English, and placed various obstructions in the way of their trade. But these were errors of inexperience, arising from false representations of the Factors' enemies; and as soon as they were fairly explained to him he ordered that the wrongs of the English should be redressed.*

The history of the small Factory, or, as it was called, Residency of Cambay, runs in most respects parallel with that of the larger establishment at Surat. At both places there were the same causes of annoyance and obstructions in the way of business; both places were subjected to the oppressions of Mogul Governors, were harassed on land by lawless parties of Marathas, and at sea by no less lawless cruisers of Coolies and other robbers. In 1720, Mr. Wyard, the Resident of Cambay, was much distressed by the extortions of the Mahomedan Governor, and in 1725 the whole city was threatened with destruction by two rival armies of Marathas; the one led by Peelajee, the other by Kantajee. Peelajee appeared first; and at his approach, the country people in alarm flocked to Cambay for refuge. Thither he followed them, demanding five lakhs of rupees from the inhabitants; and when they refused them, firing the suburbs. Then comes Kantajee, affirm-

* Surat Diary, 31st July 1724; 15th February 1725.

ing that he has authority to levy contributions, and offering Peelajee twenty thousand rupees if he will only depart with his army. This proposal is rejected with disdain, and his messenger thrown into confinement ; so he proceeds at once to action, and the Factors have the pleasure of seeing from the walls two free-booting Chiefs fight a battle, in which Peelajee is defeated. Then Kantajee is at leisure to transact his own business in his own way ; so he demands a contribution of one lakh and ten thousand rupees from the city, of which the share of the English Residency was to be five thousand. Mr. Daniel Innes, the Resident, remonstrated against this extortion, very earnestly pleading the privileges of trade and the exemption from all payments which had been conceded to the English by Saho Raja ; but, as he wrote in mortification of spirit, " the armed villains only laughed." However, they compounded with him at last for two thousand rupees, and as Kantajee was obliged to leave after a first instalment of only five hundred had been paid, Innes would not consider that a promise extorted by force was binding, or send another rupee, the President and Council of Bombay fully approving his philosophy.

The followers of Hameed Khan next appear on the horizon, levying thirty-five thousand rupees on the town, and demanding a thousand from the Residency. " The first time they went back with a put-off," writes Mr. Innes, " the next with a flat denyall, and I have not heard from them since, further than that the Governor and the Geenim fellow here has advised them to desist, the latter adding that the English even would not pay them. They are but two hundred men, and I am under no manner of apprehension of danger." The Governor then locked, and affixed seals to, the English broker's warehouses. This measure Mr. Innes " judged to be bully" ; so counteracted it by menaces and two cases of drams, which were more effectual than money in subduing the rapacity of these licentious Mussulmans. The seals were removed, and the eccentric Resident a month later replies to the congratulations of his superiors with this counter-hint :—" I shall have regard to your hint of the Governor being dry ; though I have quenched his thirst at my own charge too often for my pocket."

Terrible days were those for merchants and helpless ryots. Peelajee, Kantajee, Hameed Khan, Governors from Delhi, and certain Cooly Chiefs,—all squeezed them in turn, until the cultivators refused to till the ground, and the country was threatened with famine. After Hameed Khan's followers had

gone away almost empty, a new Deputy Governor was appointed, on condition that he should send to Ahmedabad ninety thousand rupees, to be extorted from the inhabitants. No sooner did the unhappy merchants and shopkeepers hear of his approach, than they hid themselves, or made their escape to the neighbouring villages. For six days, not a man was to be seen in the streets of Cambay, although his Excellency threatened that unless the people made their appearance he would deliver the city to indiscriminate pillage.*

The Company had no establishments as yet in Sind, nor for some years after, until they sent an agent to Aurungabundur, who was continually involved in quarrels with the Jam of Cutch and other predatory Chieftains. Interlopers were more enterprising, and had opened a coasting trade between the western ports of India and Laribundur, situated on the Indus, about five or six leagues from the sea. The roads were more infested by robbers than even those of Hindustan, and Alexander Hamilton gives an interesting account of a conflict into which he was drawn by a plundering party of Baloochees and "Mackrans."† Having arrived from the coast of Malabar at Laribundur, with a cargo valued at ten thousand pounds, he found that the merchants of Tatta would not purchase his goods, because they feared the risk of transporting them to their own city. So he had no choice but to take them himself, and joining a kafila composed of fifteen hundred beasts of burden, the same number of men and women, and a guard of two hundred horsemen, he started for Tatta. Before they had travelled sixteen miles, their scouts brought intelligence that robbers were approaching in great force. Placing their cattle in front as a barricade, arming thirteen sailors with fuses, and animated by the English Captain's example, they confidently awaited the approach of an enemy whose principal weapons were swords and targets. As the plunderers drew near they sent forward one of their number, who proclaimed with threatening gestures that the kafila must surrender at discretion or expect no quarter. The reply was a shot from the English marksmen which passed through his head, and two other envoys shared the same fate. The horsemen, who up to that time had remained at a distance, then taking courage, put the robbers to flight with great slaughter. This victory was attributed to Hamilton's courage and the skill with which he had disposed the men and beasts of the kafila, and as he

* Letters from Daniel Innes in the Surat Diary, from 1720 to 1725.

† Query, were these the Mohanas or fisher-caste?

had also in his passage beaten off three piratical vessels, he was received at Tatta in a sort of triumph, the people greeting him with loud acclamations, the Nawab and principal inhabitants with compliments and congratulations. The city—one of the most ancient in the world—was the emporium of lower Sind, and the residence of a Mogul Governor; but was at that time sadly depopulated by an epidemic disease of which as many as eighty thousand persons had died, and which, was said to have been caused by drought, no rain having fallen for three years. A few Portuguese who had been engaged in commerce and had built a Church there, were gradually withdrawing themselves, and offered pictures of saints and ecclesiastical vestments for sale to the irreverent Captain, who only laughed at them and said he did not want “such stock in trade.”*

Thus we have plodded through nearly half—and that the worse half—of an obscure period in which history would not guide us and had fairly given up the attempt to do so. This statement of what our task has been, will, we trust, be accepted by indulgent readers as an apology for any dulness and heaviness of style; for although a writer of limited capacity, who collects his facts from brilliant authors, may feel sometimes inspired by their genius so as to rise on Icarian wings above his sphere, it is hard indeed for such an one to toil through dingy records, the most interesting topics of which were, to those at least who penned them, rupees or pounds sterling, and to appear anything but heavy, care-worn and uninteresting. It is something to have raised a guide-post for others. This we have done; and that our narrative may be a safe chronicle, have tried hard to be scrupulously accurate.†

There is nothing more worthy of notice in this period than *the vitality* of the East India Company. They had appalling obstacles to surmount in England, India, and on the high seas. England, instead of rejoicing at their success, envied and oppressed them with restrictive Acts of Parliament. For instance: when the printed calicoes of Indian manufacture had become so fashionable for apparel and household furniture, that the silk and woollen manufactures at home were seriously damaged, the London weavers raised a loud outcry, and alarmed the citizens with riots, until in 1721 Parliament inflicted a blow upon the Indian trade

* Hamilton's “New Account.” English Records.

† Milburn's Oriental Commerce.

by passing an Act, which prohibited all persons from wearing printed calicoes under a penalty of five pounds to be paid for each offence by the wearer, and twenty pounds by the seller. In India native tyrants multiplied as the Mogul empire decayed, like maggots in a dead carcase. At sea the English were beset by assailants varying in degrees of strength from the powerful Raja whose numerous fleets swarmed round them, to the petty rover who owned a shallop and plundered their boats as they rowed from their ships to the shore. Yet they survived and even flourished. The storms which pelted them so severely, seemed after all to refresh them. The truth is, the convulsions which threatened and disturbed them were but so many signs that the powers of India were breaking up, and that the way was being prepared for a new and foreign power to advance and triumph. Every act of chicane, extortion, and pillage, committed by native chiefs, which exhibited their own moral or physical weakness, provoked their neighbours, disgusted the people, and roused the indignation of Europeans—every such stone against which they stumbled was forming the strong foundation on which arose the towering might of the East India Company.

ART. III.—ANGLO-INDIAN POETRY.

1. *Days in the East ; a Poem.* By JAMES HENRY BURKE, Esq. London : Smith, Elder, & Co. 1842.
2. *Ballads of the East, and other Poems.* London : Longman & Co. 1846.
3. *Poems.* By JOHN DUNBAR, Bengal Civil Service. Calcutta : Thacker, Spink, & Co. ; and Thacker & Co., Bombay. 1853.
4. *Songs of the East.* By Mrs. CARSHORE. Calcutta : D'Rozario & Co. 1855.
5. *Ex Erema ; Poems, chiefly written in India.* By H. G. KEENE. Edinburgh and London : W. Blackwood & Sons. 1855.
6. *Flowers and Flower Gardens.* By DAVID LESTER RICHARDSON, Principal of the Hindu Metropolitan College, and Author of "Literary Leaves," "Literary Recreations," &c. *With an Appendix of Practical Instructions and useful information respecting the Anglo-Indian Flower Garden.* Calcutta : D'Rozario & Co. 1855.
7. *Specimens of Greek Anthology.* Translated by Major ROBERT GUTHRIE MACGREGOR, Author of "Indian Leisure."

OUR friend has written a book. We rejoice to hear it ; our curiosity is roused ; we inquire where it is to be bought, and the thought even passes through our mind that, if not an expensive work, we may, perhaps, purchase a copy. "Has——really written a book ? I had no idea that he had it in him ; and should like, of all things, to see what it is like." "You can get it at Smith and Taylor's, I believe. . . . It's a Poem." At the word, our curiosity falls suddenly to temperate—our joy to zero ; while our rupees mentally replace themselves in our treasury. "Oh——a Poem !" we dryly reply, secretly adding, "One can't sit down and read ever so much poetry."

At our neighbour's house, we and our fellow-guests turn over the books upon his table. One after another is dipped into ; some engage attention ; but a volume of newly-published poems,

by some minstrel unknown to fame, is invariably at once laid down by all who open it. Those lines of uneven length, commencing each with a capital letter, seem to have a "shut sesame" spell about them. If any one, perchance, acts otherwise, he is probably a fellow-rhymer, curious to inspect the work of a brother artist.

Now, why is this? Why, among so many educated people, is it thus rare to find one who, if invited to read a new work, does not, on thinking he perceives lyric indications, feel ready to exclaim with Sam Weller senior, "Tan't poetry, is it?"

Some neglected minstrel may perhaps indignantly reply—"Because common people have no souls; because the world in general are stupid, matter-of-fact plodders on the straight and dusty highway, incapable of appreciating the beauties of the tangled woodland path, or of the uneven, the winding, and, so, thought-compelling, footway upon the mountains." True this, sometimes, perhaps; but we think that we can suggest some less depreciatory causes.

We read for amusement, or we read for instruction. Now, poetry is scarcely ever amusing, and when has it been known to be instructive? In this nineteenth century our sentimental hours are few; and in them we like to read (if poetry) the poems we already know,—the familiar songs of those master-poets whose strains are to us full of association—of thoughts that beget thought. But new poetry by some bard unknown—"Flowers of Fancy, by Valentine Grove, Esquire"; "Daffodils, by Rosa ***"; or, worse still, five heavy "Books" of terrible blank verse on "The Creation of the Universe, by the Revd. Maha-shalal-hash-baz"! Have we not an instinctive feeling that, in all probability, if we take up the volume, we shall find it to consist of whole pages of mere sounds to but half a line of sense?—that we shall not be able to discover one original, or clever, or wise thought in it?—that So-and-so had nothing worth hearing to say, and so said it in verse?

The fact is, that an ear for numbers and a facility in rhyming are a snare to the juvenile and the unlettered aspirant after fame. He would not attempt a prose work, for he is too conscious of the barrenness of the land within, and there must be *some* sense in what is written in prose. • But, though the fountain of his ideas may be as an empty well, and his field of thought as a desert waste, he knows that he can play the tinkling cymbals of rhyme and measure, and so make a pleasant sound; and a sweet jingle, well recited, is enough to gain the applause of most listeners to

verse. The domestic circle exclaim, "How beautiful!" and the domestic circle dote upon Wordsworth—they must therefore be good judges of poetry; and so the chirping sparrow-bard is persuaded to publish to the world at large his twitterings in the hedge-rows of the muses' garden.

We have mentioned Wordsworth; and with all our respect for that justly-revered name, we must yet acknowledge that it reminds us of a sore evil under the sun of our Parnassus. A class of poets has risen up under his leading, whose thoughts are so very profound, that not the most pains-taking reader can fathom their meaning! Very delightful these, to many minds—and for this very reason. "How?" perhaps our readers may exclaim, "delightful because they cannot be understood?" Yes—delightful because they are incomprehensible; for there are persons who feel a peculiar pleasure in the perusal of poetry that they cannot understand. Its very obscurity deludes them into admiration, as the magnifying power of the mountain mist gives to objects really insignificant a fictitious grandeur. In the presence of these applauders the timid questioner is silenced,—daunted by the Poets' Preface, who makes use of such threatening language towards his readers should they presume to accuse him of want of perspicuity, dismissing them so contemptuously from his consideration as persons of shallow understanding, that they dare not confess that in their secret hearts they think that he writes nonsense; and, so, outwardly, join his worshippers, like those Spanish devotees to whom the crafty monk announced that he was about to exhibit, for the edification of their souls, one of the hairs of St. Mary Magdalene,—visible, however, only to the eye of faith. Opening his jewelled reliquary, he drew apart his hands as though the precious relic were stretched between them; and of course his audience, self-condemned if they confessed that they saw nothing, declared, each and all, that they beheld the miraculous treasure, which received their unanimous homage accordingly.

Now, it is these two classes—the Twitterers and the Children of the Mist,—who make us snuff at a volume of poetry. We have too many such volumes in these days, and we are inclined to think that much of the weedy trash springs up out of a notion prevalent among the many, that fast writing is praiseworthy, and an evidence of talent,—that it is an imperfection to be slow in composition,—that what is rapidly written is more likely to be spoiled than to be amended by revision and alteration,—and that, at any rate, numerous corrections are not to the credit of an author. We believe the fact to be precisely the contrary; that

the proverb is a true one which says, that "easy writing is mighty hard reading;" and that the lines which in poetry flow with the most harmony and graceful smoothness, or with the most sonorous diction, and the sentences which in prose are the most neatly expressed and elegantly turned, are just those upon which the author has bestowed the greatest labour.* Three great names occur to us as we write, in support of our opinion. A recent *Life of Goldsmith* informs us that it was the practice of that tuneful poet,—whose every couplet is full of meaning, and that meaning always perspicuously as well as melodiously expressed,—to write his subject first in prose, and afterwards to transfer its purport into verse†—a process (we venture to observe *en passant*) which, if reversed with most of our modern poetry, would, we suspect, have but a lamentable result, and would give no rich precipitate of golden grains of thought, but one rather reminding us of the cotton offerings lighted upon the pedestal of the Bull Nanda, which "leave not an 'ash' behind!" The same Biography tells us also, that this master-minstrel was nine years in composing and perfecting his exquisite and immortal little poem, "The Traveller"; and that he gave as his reason for discontinuing to write poetry, that he could not spare the great length of time he considered it requisite to occupy if his thoughts were to be worthily expressed in verse. Again, the French traveller Simond, who obtained a sight of Rousseau's manuscript notes, tells us, that "Rousseau's composition, like *Montesquieu's*, was laborious and slow; You find him perpetually retrenching epithets,—*reducing his thoughts to their simplest expression*,—giving words a peculiar energy, by the new application of their original meaning,—going back to the *naïveté* of old language; and, in the artificial process of simplicity, carefully effacing the trace of each laborious footstep as he advanced; each idea, each image, coming out at last, as if cast at a single throw—original, energetic, and clear."

We do not deny that many years of constant practice may enable a prose writer to attain to rapid, and yet elegant, composition,—not doubting, however, that, even in that case, revision

* In fact, as Horace suggests, a man cannot write polished poetry unless he scratches his head well and bites his nails to the quick. This, he says, Ennius would certainly have done if he had lived in the Augustan age:—

"Detoreret sibi *unghes*; recideret omno, quod ultra

* *Perfectum traheretur; et in versu faciendo*
Sæpe caput scaberet, vivos et roderet unguis.^h

—*Sat. Lib. i. 10*

† Alfieri's three earliest Tragedies were written on a similar plan: first in French prose, then rendered into Italian verse. (See his *Autobiography*.)

would be sure to produce improvement; but in poetry, we are persuaded that nothing worthy of the name can be hastily produced; that there can never be too much of care and pains bestowed on verse; and that no writer has any prospect whatever of attaining an enduring name as a poet, who has not given this care and pains. Not that care and pains will make a poet—"poets are born, not made"—but the poet who would win the bays must not trust to his heavenly birth alone, or he will find that there is no more *Æ*royal road to Parnassus than to the throne of Fame in the temples of Science and of Classic Lore. In avoiding, however, the Scylla of rough or slippery verse, he has to beware of the Charybdis of obscurity. His dulcet notes must ever be but the handmaids of Good Sense, who must reign supreme, even over Imagination and Fancy. Mere diction requires but an ear for rhythm, which, though a gift absolutely necessary to the poet, is not to be confounded, as it too often is, with a genius for poetry; for that high gift is not one of melody *only*, but may rather be defined as, the art of expressing, in the most melodious language, possible thoughts that are not commonplace.

But, while discoursing of poesy, we are ourselves prosing, forgetful of the volumes before us, which we will now proceed to examine, commencing in the order of their dates. "Days in the East," by Mr. Burke, (published in 1842,) is an elegant poem imitative of the Byronian diction, though not of the Byronian moodiness of spirit. On the contrary, its tone of thought and sentiment is both amiable and religious. We have found much to admire in this poem; but, at the same time, we must acknowledge that our pleasure in reading it has been frequently qualified by obscurities of language, obliging us to repeated reperusals of many passages and pages, with, after all, but scant illumination as their result! The following stanza, for instance—we invoke a "Second Daniel" to show us the interpretation thereof!

"Thou art a grace, Ellora; and a thing
 That centuries of being could not make;
 Thou art a glory thought on guileless wing
 That young Imagination could not wake;
 Thou art a triumph in most arts, and break
 Upon the wanderer's gaze as breaks a thought
 Of young delusion manhood cannot take;
 Thou art a wondrous epitaph, and wrought
 By those whose ardent minds had deep illusion enaught."

—Stanza lxxix. p. 81.

Whatever a "glory thought on guileless wing" may be, we, after sundry and manifold readings, gathered, as we supposed,

that, at any rate, it was a thought that required an elderly head to think it, since the poet tells us it is one

"That *young* Imagination *could not wake*."

But then, being immediately afterwards told (in a line, by-the-bye, where the verb does *not* "agree with its nominative case") that this same "thing," Ellora, also breaks

"Upon the wanderer's gaze as breaks a thought
Of young delusion *manhood cannot take*,"

we were quite thrown out again. And, between "the glory thought on guileless wing," and the "young delusion," and the "deep illusion caught," which sums up the whole, this stanza has, at every perusal, completely bewildered our (we own it) limited understanding.

Neither can we at all accept some of Mr. Burke's similes and metaphors. The

"Columned elephants and monsters grim"

of the caves of Ellora are, in Stanza LXXX., most unaptly likened to

— — — — "Shadowy objects that obscurely swim
Before the mind *as moles before the eye*."

This is indeed going to the extreme of "comparing great things with small," and a useful specimen, we must consider it, of "the art of sinking."

Upon the whole, we prefer the first Canto of "*Days in the East*" to the second, which contains the stanzas remarked upon above. Let us, then, turn to the first Canto; and we will select from it for quotation, a page of sweet and graceful verse, which, we think, favorably illustrates the poet's style.

The future ! what is that to me ?
What care I for futurity ?
A few short summers o'er my head,
And those who watched my earliest years,
And those who love me best,
Beyond the ken of burning tears,
Beyond all human hopes and fears,
Are numbered with the dead !
Rank grass grows o'er each narrow bed.
Dull clay enwraps each breast '
What a poor solace then to weep
O'er them in their eternal sleep
"I will not rejoice their rest,

XII.

So, farewell ! loved ones, and my home,
Since I am destined far to roam

Across the trackless sea ;
And may all blessings that this mind
Can breathe to those it leaves behind

Your constant fortune be !
There is a tie time cannot sever,
There is a heart time cannot break ;
May you be happy now and ever !

I'll live and hope for your dear sake,
To my lone lot resigned !"

—P. 10.

Again, turning back towards the commencement of the poem, we cannot resist extracting Stanza x. for the sake of one line—one melodious and beautiful line—in it, which so responds to the feelings of our own hearts when gazing on similar scenes (and will, we therefore feel assured, to those of others also,) that we cannot forbear from drawing our readers' notice to it.

" Ay ! mark the richness of the vivid green,
Admire the graceful sweeps of each tall palm,
Sigh o'er the vast luxuriance of the scene,
The spicy odour and the breath of balm
That steals as if in sympathy ; yet calm
As is the prospect, soothing though each breath,
Beware the baleful foe, each is a sigh of death ;
Touch not this flower to blend the gorgeous wreath,
Pluck not yon sunny fruit, a snake lies coiled beneath "

Who does not, as he reads, echo the deep sigh of that third line ? Its diction is worthy of Byron.

" Ballads of the East," by an anonymous author, is a collection of Eastern stories told in very spirited verse. We will commence our notice of the volume by giving some extracts from the first tale, called, " The Tartar Girl ; a Ballad of China."

" A maiden with her spinning-wheel
Sits by her father's door ;
Though fast she plies with hand and heel,
Winding off thread upon the reel,
Her brow is clouded o'er .

a u

Deep thought is working on that brow ,
His brother, young and fair,
Has drawn the dreadful lot, and now
Must leave his parent's home : and how
Will they the parting bear ?

He is an only son, and born
To them when age was nigh.
If from their threshold he be torn,
How can they, desolate, forlorn,
In comfort live and die ?

With him doth end a race of fame,
And shall the good and brave
Perish in memory and in name,
With none to light the sacred flame
Illumining their grave ?

No ! he must bide his father near :
There is but only he
Can lay the old man on his bier,
And wipe away the widow's tear,
And save the family.

She starts, and lays her spinning-wheel
With wonted care aside :
In warrior garb, with cap of steel,
Her brother's self from head to heel,
She goes to meet the guide.

Caparison'd her brother's steed,
The guide holds rein in hand ;
Quick mounting in her brother's stead ,
She pricks away with eager speed
To join the warrior band.

Day after day, five thousand lee,
O'er hill and desert far,
They seek the Emperor, where he,
Amidst the wilds of Tartary,
Is waging doubtful war.

And ever foremost as they ride,
With spirit fresh and keen,
Bearing himself with soldier's pride,
When danger and fatigues have tried,
That beardless youth is seen.

In camp he soon doth win his way
To favour with the brave ;
They note him as not fierce to slay,
But never backward in the fray,
And always prompt to save."

Of course, this Chinese Clorinda, distinguishes herself by brilliant actions in the field ; and, her deeds of arms attracting the notice of the Sovereign, she is summoned into his presence, and

desired to ask of him what boon she will, as the reward of her services. The disguised heroine, in reply, acknowledges herself to be the substitute for another, and craves that "the worthy one" whose place she fills may receive the favors she has won as his representative, and that he may be ennobled, if such be the Emperor's will.

"The boon is granted : homeward wends
The youth with joy of heart."

Yet great is his (or her) anxiety as to what changes may have occurred during so long a period of absence from the paternal home.

"The father and the mother dear,—
Who knows if yet they live ?
Endless the journey seems, till near
She sees the well-known roof appear—
'Now God, Thy mercy give !'

She enters—all is as before :
Resumed the maiden's guise ;
Again she sits beside the door,
With spinning-wheel, and evermore
The clanking foot-board plies."

Meantime, her brother is ennobled, and brought home in state, clothed in a dress of honor; and Part I. concludes with the following awkwardly expressed and inelegant stanza :—

"There is a height of happiness
That makes the *senses whirl* :
Such happiness was theirs, *I guess*,
While, sobbing in sweet joy, they press
The maiden to their hearts, and bless
That noble Tartar girl."

Our poet should have taken the advice of the old singing-master, who enjoined upon his pupil to begin well and end well, however he might fall short of perfection in the middle of his song.

In Part II. the heroine is represented as besieged by suitors, who find no favor in her eyes.

"But one there is, who comes not nigh
His courtesies to pay ;
One that she thinks of with a sigh,
And looks around, and wonders why
He only stays away."

Of course, it is a modest diffidence alone that keeps back this second Edwin.

“ She had returned to realize
The visions she inspired.
But he ! how dare he lift his eyes
To one for deeds of high emprise
By all the world admired ? ”

And now the narrator—for we cannot here call him “ *poet* ”—proceeds to inform us that

“ Once only did their *four eyes meet* ” !

Utterly protesting against this *parti carré*—this quadruple meeting of optics—we hasten to banish its remembrance by passing on to where

“ The public halls of Singanfoo
Shine bright with silk and gold. ”

Yet here again we are unpleasantly startled by stumbling upon an article we never remember to have seen admitted before among the “ properties ” of Parnassus—a button ! It grieves us to quote that the Emperor,—we wish, by-the-bye, that the minstrel had given his Emperor a name, and always appended it to his title, for the word *Emp-e-ror* makes but a feeble three-syllabled word ; while a Chinese name, monosyllabic as they always are, added to the title—such as “ The Emperor Ho,” or “ Ching,” or “ Fo,”—would have given the required fullness to the metre—this nameless Emperor, then, has, we are told, proclaimed

——— “ That there shall be,
For literary merit,
A button given of high degree,
A prize to all his subjects free,
The worthiest to wear it. ”

In consideration of the poem being “ a tale of China,” we must, we suppose, accept the button as Chinese for *bays*, and so bear with it patiently.

Of course the modest lover wins the guerdon, and wins it, moreover, for a poem he sings in celebration of the great deeds of the Tartar maiden. He is for the same reason made Secretary to his Sovereign ! “ The right man for the right place ”—on a similar principle, we presume, as that which obtained for the author of “ *Evelina* ”—the post of Queen Charlotte’s Dresser, and which prompted the offer of an appointment in the War Department to the exhumers of winged bulls. “ Administrative reform ” does not, however, appear to have been called for, in consequence, by the

long-tailed Public of the Chinese Empire. On the contrary, this Tory people, acting on the highly Conservative principle that "whatever is, is right," appear to have viewed their Emperor's choice with warm approbation; for, on the marriage of the Poet-Secretary of State with the Tartar maiden, (of course he marries the Tartar maiden,) the Ballad concludes with this jubilant stanza—

" In Pekin there was joy the day
When these joined heart and hand.
God bless the Emp-ror! and may
Servants as brave and wise as they,
In war and peace be found alway,
The mighty destinies to sway
Of the central flow'ry land."

Alas! that, in his own discontented eyes, John Bull should be so far less fortunate in his public ministers than the complacent and *couleur de rose* visioned Ching-Chee!

"Kishen Koomareo"—the last ballad in this volume—celebrates, in a style much beneath the tragic beauty of the subject, an Indian historic tale of female courage and patriotic devotion, unsurpassed by any legend of either Greek or Roman virtue. The Crimean heroine, Iphigenia herself, may not bear away the crown due to devoted self-sacrifice from the beautiful Princess of Oodeepoor. Her history is thus related by Sir John Malcolm in his Memoir of Central India:—

"The Princess Kishen Komur added to her high birth the reputation of extraordinary beauty. She had been betrothed to the deceased Bheem Singh, Raja of Joudpoor. On his death, Maun Singh, a distant relation, succeeded to the throne; but, two years afterwards, Sevai Singh (who had been minister to Bheem Singh) brought forward a real or supposed son of that prince, in support of whose claims he formed a strong party; and as one means of accomplishing his ends, he used every effort to render the princes of Joudpoor and Jeypoor implacable enemies. With the knowledge that Maun Singh cherished hopes of obtaining the hand of the Oodeypoor princess, Sevai Singh instigated Jugguth Singh, the Raja of Jeypoor, to demand her in marriage; and this prince, inflamed by the accounts of her beauty, fell immediately into the snare. A negotiation was opened with the Rana of Oodeypoor for the hand of his daughter, and the marriage seemed at one period certain; but the art of Sevai Singh was further employed to prevent such a result, and the Raja of Joudpoor was excited not only to insist upon his prior claim to the hand of the disputed princess, but to adopt violent measures to arrest the progress of his rival's suit.

"It is neither necessary to detail the intrigues that took place, nor to enter into the particulars of the war that ensued. Every feeling that could excite Rajpoot princes to desperate hostility was inflamed, and assistance was solicited from all quarters. The British Government was in vain intreated to interfere. Sindia gave his countenance to enable two of his

most unprincipled partisans, Bappojee Sindia and Sirjee Row Ghatkia, to subsist their predatory bands upon the quarrels of these Rajpoot Chiefs, while Holkar made them, as has been before stated, the still more baneful present of Ameer Khan and his Patans.

"The consequence was, the almost complete destruction of both principalities. That of Jeypoor expended, at the lowest computation, one crore and twenty lakhs of rupees in prosecution of this unhappy war, which, though successful at the commencement, terminated in disgrace and defeat.

"After Ameer Khan returned from Nagpoor and relieved Jeswunt Row and his family from Dherma Kowur, he became the chief actor in a tragedy in which a good end was obtained by a deed which revolts every feeling of humanity.

"A reconciliation between the Rajas of Jeypoor and Joudpoor was an object of just and wise policy; and it suited the views of the Patan Chief to promote its accomplishment. It was proposed that this should be effected by a double marriage. Jugguth Singh was to espouse the daughter of Maun Singh, and the latter the sister of his rival and enemy. To propitiate these nuptials, it was conceived that the honor of all parties required the death of Kishen Komur, the Princess of Oodeypoor. The question of this sacrifice was agitated when Ameer Khan was at Oodeypoor, and that Chief urged it strongly on the counsellors of the prince, representing the difficulty of establishing peace while the cause of the war existed, and then pointing out the impossibility, without offending the two most powerful Rajpoot rulers in India, of giving his daughter to any other Chief. To these he added arguments well suited to the high, though mistaken, pride of a Rajpoot, regarding the disgrace of having in his family an unmarried daughter. It is stated—and for the honor of human nature let us believe it—that neither arguments nor threats could induce the father to become the executioner of his child, or even urge her to suicide; but his sister, Chand Bye, was gained to the cruel cause of policy, and she presented the chalice to Kishen Komur, intreating her to save her father, family, and tribe, from the struggles and miseries to which her high birth and evil destiny exposed them. The appeal was not in vain: she drank three poisoned cups; and, before she took the last, which proved instantly fatal, she exclaimed, 'This is the marriage to which I was foredoomed!'

"All were acquainted with what was passing in the palace; and the extraordinary beauty and youth of the victim excited a feeling which was general in a degree that is rare among the inhabitants of India. This account is written from the report of several persons who were on the spot, and they agree in stating that the particulars of Kishen Komur's death were no sooner spread through the town of Oodeypoor, than loud lamentations burst from every quarter, and expressions of pity at her fate were mingled with execrations on the weakness and cowardice of those who could purchase safety on such terms. In a short period after this tragical event, the public feeling was again excited by the death of the mother of the princess, who never recovered the shock she received at the first intelligence of the fate of her beautiful and cherished daughter."

Sir John Malcolm adds in a note—

"I visited the Court of Oodeypoor in March 1821, eleven years after the occurrence of the events I have stated, and possessed complete means of verifying the fact. I could have no doubt of the beauty of Kishen Komur, after seeing her brother Jeen Singh, the present heir to the musnud, whom

she is said to have exactly resembled. His complexion is very fair, and his features are fine; and though they have that softness which characterises Hindu physiognomy, they are full of animation and intelligence."

"She drank *three poisoned cups!*" Is there a single mere human example, in ancient or modern history, that can rival the generous self-sacrifice of this devoted Indian girl? Some half-fabulous tales there have been, of self-immolating male and female patriots,—a Quintus Curtius leaps into a gulf for his country's good, and an Iphigenia dies at the altar. But, in these instances—supposing them true—there has been the theatrical stimulus of public display and popular applause. Here, on the contrary, is the silence of the secluded chamber. Meekly the young, beautiful, and high-born maiden, unsupported by a multitude's approving presence, takes into her hand the cup of death. It was a purely voluntary act—for none without her father's explicit command would have dared to have compelled the Raja's daughter. But, the good of her country is pleaded by that stern-hearted aunt, and, for her country's welfare, she lays down her innocent life! With a deliberate earnestness of heroic purpose, far surpassing the masculine courage that faces the dangers of the battle-field, she drinks, not once, but twice. "For Oodeypoor! Behold the marriage to which I was foredoomed!"—Still is the draught not fatal. Another cup!—"For my father, for my king—my countrymen!" Again she drinks, and dies! Oh! Kishen Koomaree! brave warriors without number, and mighty monarchs, and patriotic statesmen, steadfast saints, have gorgeous monuments and costly cenotaphs immortalised; but none among them have been more worthy of a nation's testified gratitude than thou who, with no thought of self—with not even the martyr's hope of a blessed immortality to stimulate thy pious heroism—laid down thy inoffensive life that others less worthy might live! Thus was it mysteriously given to this untaught Hindu girl to shadow forth in her weak humanity the Deity's own wondrous manifestation of the boundlessness of divine love! Kishen Koomaree's self-sacrifice has raised in the scale her whole sex in India; for what heart but must feel a deep respect for a race of women that could produce so great a character? And, when we place beside the Princess of Oodeypoor's transcendent virtue, the excellencies, public and private, of Aliya Bée, Queen of Malwa, and the talents of the beautiful and accomplished Empress Noor Jehan, we cannot but feel that both good and great things may be confidently anticipated from India's women when once they are brought within the pale of true civilisation and pure Christianity.

We have neither space nor inclination to pause long over the so-called "Poems" of Mr. John Dunbar. We say "so-called poems," because, if our definition of poetry at the commencement of this article be correct—namely, that it is the art of expressing thoughts that are not commonplace in the most melodious language possible—we cannot for a moment concede the name of "Poems" to this collection of rhymes; unmitigated commonplace they are from the first page to the last. Indeed, the most remarkable feature of the volume is, that it should contain nearly two hundred pages of verse, without one single poetical idea, save some few antiquated similes long ago worn threadbare. It is much too late, in the year eighteen hundred and fifty-five, to be telling us that "Beauty is but a fading flower" (p. 41),—that a fair brow is "like purest snow,"—and that blue eyes are "coloured like the far-off skies" (p. 63); and yet no embellishments whatever but such withered berries as these are to be found in the groves of Mr. Dunbar's Parnassus. In attempting to write verse, he appears to have totally mistaken his vocation; for he has not even that absolute essential for a verse-writer—an ear for rhythm. Though acquainted, it would seem from what he says in p. 133, with the juvenile practice of counting with the fingers while making verses, yet he does not appear to benefit himself by the check. On the contrary, it is a snare to him; for, being deficient in ear, he rests perfectly satisfied that his couplets are correct in measure if the lines only contain an equal number of syllables,—ignoring quantities with excruciating barbarity. Witness the following specimens:—

" 'Tis nearly past—a few short hours, and I shall be
Beyond the sky—a dweller of Eternity;
I feel within the spirit struggling to be free
From this sad scene of ling'ring death and misery;" &c.—P. 38.

" Unhurt, and undaunted, brave Clinker sweeps past,
Like the whirlwind riding, in wrath, on the blast."—P. 81.

" Compared with my feelings, their's are trifling, indeed,
As I vault on the back of my own gallant steed."—P. 82.

" And watch the struggling flight of that last sigh
Which bore thy pure spirit beyond the sky;
A spotless offering, to the Deity!
Thus 'twill ever be—years on years may flow,
But memory of thee can never go."!!!—P. 173.

Even his fingers fail him sometimes, or he could never have written

" From day to day to our admiring eyes,
Binding us to thee with Nature's mystic ties."!—P. 99.

But enough of Mr. Dunbar, whose writings, though they reveal amiable domestic qualities, as surely betray a total absence of those necessary to form the poet.

We turn with pleasure to the pretty warblings of Mrs. Carshore, whose "Songs of the East" are very bulbul strains. Moore has evidently been her favorite teacher in the art of Song. She is imbued with his diction, and shows herself an apt and graceful follower in his path of minstrelsy. It is to be regretted that this lady's poems have been done very great injustice to, by bad punctuation; the corrector of the press evidently not having understood the verses. This is not always surprising, as several passages among them cannot be held guiltless of the modern poets' common fault—obscurity of expression. Indeed, as honest Reviewers, we must even go so far as to make the observation, that Mrs. Carshore's periods occasionally appear to have no particular beginnings or endings to them; and that no alteration of the stopping can be contrived so as to make complete sense of some passages we have laboured at. But the obscurity of others cannot be justly laid to the Muse's charge: commas and semicolons sown at random have made them nonsense, and the whole work, if it reach a second edition, will require a careful revision in that particular. There are several careless lines also here and there, that we cannot scan rightly, and that Mrs. Carshore's delicate ear must needs detect as faulty when she reads her lines aloud, although it has pleased her to leave them limping in a manner unworthy of her Muse.

We have scarcely room for quotations from this elegant volume of sweet verse; but, as we turn its leaves, we find ourselves arrested by a doubly scored mark of our pencil in the margin of page 24, accompanied, we are shocked at ourselves to see, with the ungallant query over against the approved couplet, "Can this be original?" Supposing it of course to be original, we must give ourselves the pleasure of quoting the passage in which the lines marked by us occur:—

" But where, think ye, is she they seek?—
With fevered brow and burning cheek;
With lightning pulse and scorching vein,
And reeling sense and madd'ning brain,
*Where conquered reason's vacant throne
Is by usurping grief o'erthrown.*"

This last couplet might have been written by Pope. The page that follows it is almost incomprehensible—partly from wrong punctuation, but chiefly from very defective grammatical construction. To obliterate its memory, we quote the following pretty Song, breathing the true spirit of woman dwelling in the beautiful mirage of her love's imaginings :—

" Oh ! tell me not of sweeter tones on many a brighter shore
Where soft lutes swell the evening breeze,
While moonbeams tremble through the trees,
And other sweeter things than these,
Oft told before.

What land like that where my loved one dwells,
What sound so sweet as a word he tells ?
His accents resemble those musical shells
Where Peris dwelt of yore.

Oh ! speak not of a bluer heaven o'er many a richer clime,
Where golden sun-sets gild the sky,
Where twilight lingers ere it fly,
Where young hearts never break or die,
Before they reach their prime ;
Where dark-eyed maidens dance and play,
And sing by night and sport by day,
And laugh their happy lives away
Beneath the vine.

I know no other bluer sky, no heaven more bright than this ;
There is a lov'd and gentle eye
Bends o'er me here, whose azure dye
Outshines the sunniest summer sky
That ever is.

And the smile of love, oh ! its beams outvie
The loveliest tints that can gild a sky :
There is moonlight music in a sigh
That sheds a holy bliss :
And could I choose a dearest land,
I'd make my home on Arab sand ;
I'd love the bleakest foreign strand,
And that should be my chosen land
If it were his."

—P. 74.

Before taking leave of Mrs. Carshore, we must transcribe for our readers an interesting note at the end of her volume, descriptive of the "Bya" bird, whose singular habits we do not happen to have heard of ourselves before, and which may therefore be new to them also :—

" *Bya*.—A small yellow bird about the size of a sparrow, that weaves his nest of fine long grass and lights up the interior with fire-flies, and

loosely suspends a thread or long grass through the centre, on which the pair sit and swing at night. Identical with Moore's 'luxurious bird of the East.'

The civilisation of bird-nature can, sure, "no further go"! We have already been made acquainted, in the Zoological Gardens of London, with the Australian bower bird, which adorns its sporting-arbour with shining objects collected according to the wondrous creature's fancy, and then flutters there, joyful, with its companions; and now we have lamp-illuminated bird-palaces! Be humble, man! Be humble and penitent! for, if thou hadst not forfeited paradise by thine eagerness to pluck at the forbidden tree, and so become thine own independent judge of what is good and evil, thou mightest, perchance, like these feathered mechanists, have had all things meet for thine happiness revealed to thee intuitively. But now!—left to abide by thine own choice,—thou must needs attain to all thy knowledge of good through sad and bitter experience of evil, and struggle to thine illuminated bowers through darkness, and thorns, and thistles!

We are now challenged, under the affectation of a Latin title ("Ex Eremo,") to examine the pious strains of a Hermit. This hermit tells us, in his "Envoy," that he has sung,

"Not looking for a crown of laurel leaves,
But more in hope that here and there a word,
Though falling to the ground—aye, dying now—
May spring again and grow a goodly tree,
Which, when the hand that sowed it is forgot,
Shall blossom in the garden of the Lord."

It is, therefore, in the light of "Divine Songs" that we are to regard the strains of our hermit-poet. In committing his thoughts to verse, he has sought rather, it appears, the good of his reader's soul than the delectation of his fancy. Be it so. But what, then, are we to say to the following lines, which, speaking of

"———— a Maker
Merciful as well as just,"

continue thus (after a stanza we omit):—

"Knowledge waxes, and the matter
May be shortly understood.
*In His sight how little differ
Very bad and very good!*"

"In the good is much of evil,
In the bad are germs of good."

(Or, seeds sown that do not fructify.)

Again,—

" Man may not prepare the furnace,
Nor condemn the sapless wood."

Assuredly not ; but he is speaking of the wood's " Maker."

" I have seen the old proud-hearted
Withering in a web of creeds."

Not bad, that.

" Self-appointed saints condemning
Other men's unfathomed deeds.

I have seen the young and gallant
Die before the frosts begin,
Full of true and tender yearnings
'Mid the common curse of sin."

(Knowing to do good and doing it not.)

" If they stood by human judgment,
Any one could see full well
*One would much embitter heaven
And the other sweeten hell ! !*

O, let each, though sorely straightened,
Strive to hope and do the best,
Hope to enter, weary wanderer,
Into everlasting rest."

In short, that disagreeable, proud, self-called saints, and amiable sinners, may both hope to get to heaven somehow !—a flower of eremitic fancy which we do *not* think likely to

" Blossom in the garden of the Lord."

The jumble between the judgment of God and the judgment of man in the above poem has a very painfully confusing effect upon the mind; and the writer's feeble attempt to animalvert upon the undue exercise of the latter, reminds us, by its contrast, of the graceful and concise manner in which another poet (no hermit though, and certainly no saint !) has treated the same subject. Burns thus sweetly sings—

" O gently scan thy brother man,
Still gentler sister woman ;
Though they may gang a kennin wrang,
To step aside is human.

One point must still be greatly dark—
The moving why they do it :
And yet more scanty canst thou mark
How far perhaps they rue it.

Then at the balance let's be mute.
 We never can adjust it.
 What's done we partly may compute,
 But know not what's resisted."

Still searching for indications of the seed which our author anticipates is to spring up as a tree of paradise in our souls, how can we sufficiently express our shocked surprise when we find him thus addressing the Redeemer of our souls?—

"Thee, not the sounds of timbrel or of yell
 In tropic palm-groves, lone among the waves
 Displease. *Thou dost not shun the narrow faith*
That sees Thee in misshapen human forms
Wrought by artificers from firewood trunk !
 * * * * *

Life without Thee is life inanimate ;
 And better far false gods than none at all." !—P. 74, 75.

If pious solitaries cast such bread as this upon the waters, looking for a goodly harvest, we think that they are likely to gather more of thorns than of grapes, of thistles than of figs. In short, we utterly protest against Mr. Keene's theology, and can by no means vote him eligible for the tonsure, hermit though he professes to be. The poet's wreath he has disclaimed; and has therefore fettered his sentiments in the trammels of rhyme and measure for no reason that we can divine, but that he prefers fetters to freedom, or that he is one of those who look upon verse as a condiment that may make savoury the otherwise sickening insipidity of words without ideas.

We cannot certainly compliment the author of "Ex Eremita" upon the taste and elegance of his expressions. In the opening—and we must therefore suppose the most carefully considered—lines of his first poem, "Michael de Mas," he tells us that

"This moment is our culminating point.
 The past and future dip as they recede.
 And only give to view the tops of things !
 Therefore be happy now."

Presently we will be; but we really cannot just now, while we are groaning over these very "tops of things," presented to us with such cheering intentions. We cannot be happy upon spikes; nor can we admire the appropriateness or sublimity of Satan's speech in "The Origin of Caste—a Mystery":—

"Scene I.—The top of Mount Meru.

"Satan.—Whew! how I freeze! Of all the walks I've had—
 And they've been many—none were e'er so mad
 As into this *unholy* altitude."

The reader will remember that it is Satan who speaks in these condemnatory terms of the altitude as "unholy."

"These plains are *fine though*, and, *if I'm not wrong*,"

(Satan again)—

"The climate there would suit me," &c. &c.

Hear him!—shades of Milton, Goethe, Byron!

But, lest it should be thought that we captiously dwell only upon the faults in Mr. Keene's writings, we will extract a little poem from among his lyric pieces, which we think a favorable specimen of his best manner, and which strikes us as both touching and poetic:—

"Oft, in a night of April, when the ways
Are growing dark, and the hedge-hawthorns dank,
The glow-worm scatters self-adorning rays—
Earth-stars, that twinkle on the primrose bank.

And so, when life around us gathers night,
Too dark for doubt, and ignorant of sin,
*The happy heart of youth can shed a light
Earth-born, but bright, and feed it from within.*

The April night wears on, the darkness wanes,
The light that glimmered in the east grows stronger;
But on the primrose banks that line the lanes,
Weary and chilled, the glow-worm shines no longer

The night of life as quickly passes o'er,
Coldly and shuddering breaks the dawn of truth.
*Bright day is coming, but we bear no more
The happy self-adorning heart of youth."* — P. 45.

There is so much beauty of sentiment and of diction in these lines, that, with more study and more care, Mr. Keene might, we venture to say, produce a volume of far better poems than that which lies before us, and upon which we can scarcely congratulate him as a poet in type, though we do most cordially as a private individual whose lot is cast in India; for we feel very sure that his compositions have proved to himself most sweet companions. Many a solitary hour, which would otherwise have passed wearily, perhaps unwisely, has our hermit's lyre (if hermits may be pictured with lyres) caused, we doubt not, to glide swiftly and pleasantly by. We would recommend his example to those of our countrymen who feel the weight of silent and solitary hours in this land of exile from home, interests, and social intercourse. And truly, if we will but open

our eyes to behold, there is much in this fair India to awaken a poet's song; and we are every day surprised at the general want of appreciation our compatriots exhibit for the abounding sublime and beautiful of Hindustan. Are not her forests—where ancient Mangoes spread wide their gigantic arms, sometimes bristling with those dangerous blossoms with which Kama, the Indian cupid, arms his dart, and sometimes loaded with fruit which Adam must have prized in paradise; where the Banyan trees cast down their tangled tresses, strewing the earth with the gay coral of million scarlet figs; where the boughs of the weeping Tamarind bend dismally beneath the weight of sable colonies of sleeping vampire bats (the *vespertilio vampyrus*), hanging all day head downwards, folded up in their own impish wings, and waiting, like evil spirits, for the hour of darkness; where the air is loaded with the perfume of the jasmine and of the champa flower; while the quail shouts in the far jungle, and the wood-pigeon mourns, and the coppersmith-bird rings out in the distance its industrious note;—are not forests such as these worthy of some “wood notes wild”? Or, can aught exceed the beauty of a walk at sunrise by the side of some clear blue tank, where picturesque groups of Natives may be seen performing their early ablutions, washing their many-coloured raiment, and polishing their burnished lotas that gleam dazzlingly in the sunbeams; where flocks of teal congregate shyly near the least frequented shore, and the snow-white paddy-bird wades among the sedges of the bank; while near and far leap up the tiny fish in half-momentary silver flashes from the still surface of the shining water? Does the eye weary of the brightness?—then turn toward the palm wood close beside. There the waving fan-like branches of the betel, the cocoa, the plantain, and the date tree, meet over head—the glittering sunshine struggling to penetrate their verdant shelter, and enriching with gold its vivid green. That vivid green, waving above and stretching out interminably into the farthest distance, would be perhaps monotonous, were it not for the tall pangra, which, high up upon the extreme summit of its slender stems, bears a conspicuous blossom of the richest scarlet, relieving gorgeously the sameness of the bright green foliage of the palms; the earth is strewed with its brilliant petals.

Truly, Nature is bountiful in India! Her beauties and her gifts are here poured forth with a lavish profusion, scarcely to be imagined by those who have inhabited only the niggard climates of the North. And Art appears to emulate her liberality. What are the admired ornamental sculptures of our most elaborately-

adorned cathedrals and chapels in Europe, to the marvellously-chiselled stone-work of the tombs, the mosques, and the temples of India? Have we anything to compare in elegant profusion of adornment with the white marble ruins of Sirkej, near Ahmedabad; or with the wonderful water-palaces of Guzerat, or with the mosque and tomb called "the Ibrahim Roza" at Beejapore? In the Carnatic, there are temples that in their fantastic and dim beauty may be likened to an architectural dream:—such a dream as might have visited the painter Martin. • But his waking imagination never attained to the creation of such fancifully varied forms as those of the old richly-chiselled black basalt pillars of the half-ruined temple at Bankapore, near Savanoor, or of those at Hungul in the same neighbourhood.

In the piety that exhibits itself by a lavish expenditure of wealth and of labour in rearing religious edifices, the heathen Indian outrivals the Christian European. The Certosa at Pavia does, indeed, dazzle the eye with its precious marbles—the Papal tombs of the Basilica of St. Peter at Rome are doubtless models of the grandest sculpture—from Seville to Brussels, from Rome to Melrose, ten thousand magnificent structures attest the zeal of Europe in erecting fair temples to her religion. But, can she show a city of temples? Single structures she has dedicated in profusion to God, and to the Saints; but has she anywhere dedicated to them a whole metropolis? No—not even "Holy Rome" herself is exclusively set apart for churches; and, if he would behold this highest exhibition of the piety that shows itself in the erection of shrines and temples, the pilgrim must go to heathen India.

In the peninsula of Kattiwar, and about thirty miles from Gogo, in the Gulf of Cambay, rises the consecrated hill of Palitana, whose summit is crowned by a walled city belonging to the sect called Jains, and considered by them as so sacred, that no one may pass the night within its gates, save the priests who take care of its temples; and this city is composed exclusively of temples. A broad straight road, shaded by an avenue of magnificent Banyan trees, leads almost to the foot of the mountain. Where the trees cease, a handsome wall of white and red chunam bounds the approach on either side, and there the wild peacocks love to sit; and, with their gorgeous hues and stately presence, enhance the oriental beauty of the scene. Handsome tombs and temples rise in the fields on either side beyond these walls. On reaching the foot of the hill, the ascent commences by a broad flight of stone steps, guarded on either side by a statue of an

elephant. Covered colonnades succeed, for repose and worship ; then another flight of steps, leading to small temples rising over stones upon which are sculptured in bas-relief the soles of Buddha's feet. A rocky pathway winds from thence up the side of the mountain, between temples, tombs, and tanks, constructed at short intervals for the refreshment of the pilgrim's soul and body. After mounting for about three miles, a turn of the road suddenly reveals the sacred city crowning the summit of the hill ; the cone-shaped pinnacles² of its numerous temples,—some snow-white, some stone colour, rising above the long line of all that encircles its consecrated precincts. In half an hour more the city gate is reached ; when, strange to say, the pilgrim's first devoirs are paid to the tomb of a Mussulman Pir ! But, what a view from its lofty site that tomb commands !—Ranges of dark mountain-tops far below, enveloped in heavy clouds, conceal in thickest gloom the eastward horizon—threatening—mysterious ; while the first struggling rays of the rising sun illuminate brilliantly the temples and fair garden-groves of the city close at hand. The spectator seems to stand upon the confines of night and day.

Who can describe that marvellous city of temples—only temples ? Wide causeways paved with grey chunam leading to flights of broad stone steps, down which the pilgrim descends by handsome masonry tanks, and by the walls of gardens filled with plantain and papaya trees, to where cloistered court within cloistered court lead on to the temples of Parasnath. These temples are magnificent. Mostly of quarried stone ; but some few of white marble. All elaborately sculptured externally, and richly painted and gilt within. All appear to be built on the same plan. A richly sculptured portico, approached by a flight of steps, generally guarded on each side by a statue of a warrior, carved in high relief upon its foremost pair of pillars ; his legs crossed in the attitude of a crusader ! The body of the building domed, with numerous lamps and cut glass chandeliers hanging from the dome ; and a recess at the furthest end, where stands the altar and the image of Parasnath. Under this name the Jains worship Buddha ; who is, we believe, their only deity. Go where you will in this unique city, naught unsightly will meet the eye. Every corridor, every corner, is swept and garnished ; the inhabitants are all priests in snow-white priestly garments ; and one almost feels the place a satanic mockery of that fair Celestial City into which "naught may enter that defileth."

Now, here is a wonder without perhaps its parallel in the

world ; and yet there is not, we venture to believe, one European in a hundred in India who even knows that there is such a place as Palitana !

Will no Childe Harold come among us to sing the glories and the beauties of this fairest of fair lands, whose gifts of Nature and of Art may challenge those of all the world beside, nor fear to be out-rivalled in the comparison ? Or, if this age of hurry and event be too busy and tumultuous to nurse a poet equal to the theme, may we not look on with hope to the day that shall bring a second Rousseau or Scott to these shores, to cast the halo of romance around scenes that want but the prestige of a great writer's notice to become as attractive to the traveller as are now " Sweet Clarens " dear to the sentimental, and the Highlands of Scotland adored by the chivalrons ? Even things that in themselves have no intrinsic charm are rendered interesting by the mere fact of their being linked with a great writer's name. What English tourist, for instance, but has anxiously sought out, in the gallery of the Palazzo Manfrini at Venice, that very second-rate portrait of an uninteresting looking anonymous woman, because Byron chose to say that it was " a face to go mad for," and would not have missed seeing it on any account merely because the great poet had mentioned it ? Now, India—magnificently fair—splendid in beauties that naught in Europe can outshine—has a face, if not to " go mad for," most certainly *well worth a weary pilgrimage to gaze at.*

Not that it is in the beauties of Nature and of Art only that she presents herself as a rich pasture-field for the imagination. Her history, her traditions, her customs, and even her depraved religion, are full of romance. The mysterious, the terrible, the gorgeous, the heroic, the tender,—have all their themes in this empire of ancient renown and modern wonder. From Rama to Sivajee, a brilliant succession of heroes embellishes the annals, fabulous and authentic, of Hindustan ; and heroines equally worthy to adorn a tale, give a romantic interest to her oldest and latest chronicles. Among the latter, what a fiction might be elaborated from the life of the beautiful Nourmahal, saved from perishing in a desert to share, as Nourjehan, the " throne of the world " ! And where could a truer heroine be found than the devoted Kishen Koomaree ?—or one more gracefully courageous than she, the wife of the Nizam Ali, who, present in battle, and hearing the order given by the defeated monarch for the elephant on which she rode to be withdrawn in haste from the field, exclaimed from within her curtained howdah, " This elephant has not been

taught so to turn: he follows the standard of the empire;" nor, though the British bullets fell thick around, would suffer the animal to be moved till the standard had passed, when she followed it in dignified and respectful order?

The horrors of Thuggee have already been celebrated in story by the accomplished pen of Major Meadows Taylor; but there remain a thousand themes behind, which, with less that is harrowing to the feelings, might be made quite as interesting. The religious belief and rites of India present a machinery that might be worked up to great effect by an imaginative and graphic writer. Those temple courts; those priests and priestesses, with their classic attire and ancient ceremonials, carrying back the mind to the days when Baal and Ashtarothe were worshipped in Canaan, and placing the wondering and appalled Christian spectator in the midst of scenes of actual present existence, of which his childhood had read in sacred lore alone, and that but dreamily, as of things long gone by, and scarce possible to be realised as being still events of familiar occurrence; thence to the palace, with its oriental glitter and "barbaric pomp"; thence to the cell of the Gossein, embosomed beneath the shade of the Banyan's bowery vault of verdure—a lowly fane, enshrined within a temple of Nature's own building, far more magnificent than even the admired dome of St. Mary of Angels, which, in a similar manner, bends over an ascetic's cell—the "Porziuncola" of St. Francis of Assisi.

Such are the themes presented by India. May they be worthily sung when the time comes for our classic youth to visit her shores; when eyes cultivated to taste shall be privileged to scan her glorious charms; when she shall be looked upon as something better than a mine of silver, and be sought for her own fair sake by sojourners, with aims more exalted than the mere accumulation of "Company's rupees."

Since writing the above, we have received copies of Mr. David Lester Richardson's new publication "On Flowers and Flower Gardens," and Major Robert Guthrie Macgregor's "Specimens of Greek Anthology." The former is a prose work; but, as the author is known as a poet, and has introduced among the pages before us a few original lyrics, we may perhaps be held excused for noticing the present volume in an article on poetry.

More than two hundred closely-printed pages "all about" flowers and flower gardens! This is a banquet that, we must own, has rather pallied upon our reading appetite—has even put

us into somewhat, perhaps, of that impatient humour which an unlearned lover of the picturesque will sometimes experience when a floricultivating neighbour—proprietor of a beautiful garden in which the visitor longs to stroll a silent admirer of *its* charms in their *tout ensemble*—will persist in detaining him, pausing here and lingering there, • a wearied listener to lengthy details respecting some freckled *calceolaria* or apoplectic double *dahlia*, or sophisticated *viola odorata Bunfsh'eh*!—which last, in his secret heart, the sufferer thinks

“By any other name would smell as sweet,”

or, indeed, much *more sweet*; for who, as has been well said, could take to his bosom an *Escholtzia Californica*?

Flowers, as flung over this fair earth from the hand of their bountiful Creator, are lovely accessories and adornments to the severer beauties of Nature. Hanging in garlands on the forest tree, sparkling on the bank, enamelling the meadow,—they call forth intense admiration from the enthusiast in landscape scenery. Their gay colouring also enchants the picture-loving eye when art has gathered them together in the parterres of the amateur. Yet here again it is their general effect that charms the sentimental admirer. The study of their individual charms, and especially of their artificial beauties as produced by cultivation, is a taste apart. And there are many who, though they would luxuriate in the contemplation of a bed of roses, would feel sorely disenchanted if snatched from their dreamy enjoyment to dwell upon the arbitrary excellencies of this *Rose Edouard* or that *Géant de bataille*.

Mr. Richardson's treatment of his subject is, we have felt, somewhat too lengthy and detailed; but we must acquit him of technicality and pedantry; for, though he discourses of individual flowers, it is not to distract us with a learned array of their hard names, or to descant upon their artificial qualities, but to tell us what the poets have said of them, and relate to us their little family histories. This he has done prettily and tastefully; selecting, to diversify his prose descriptions, such passages from our British poets, from Spenser downwards, as bear upon his subject; and giving also some appropriate translations from Greek, Latin, and Italian poems, as well as some original lyrics of his own.

The tediousness of which we have felt tempted to complain arises, we think, in a great measure, from the style in which the work has been got up; its aspect resembling rather that

of a Society's Report than of a treatise on so elegant a topic as Flowers and Flower Gardens. Flora merits a richer attire than the unattractive garb here awarded her; and, though the city which now sends forth Mr. Richardson's offspring in so unadorned a condition, could not, perhaps, provide this, we would venture to suggest a handsomer volume, illustrated, should a London edition be attempted; for the subject is one that appeals to the eye, and therefore requires, we think, especially pictorial illustration;—the more so, from the author's style of composition being rather that of the not-writer than of the essayist. If coloured plates were introduced, the letter press curtailed, and a larger type upon a "*papier de luxe*" adopted, we think that the work in such a form would prove more readable, and become a popular drawing-room book.

Mr. Richardson commences by expressing a wish that floriculture, that "refining taste," "had reached the natives" of India. We believe that it has always been theirs especially. Witness the ancient celebrity of their perfumes, and the floral similes of their poets, so superabounding in allusions to innumerable flowering shrubs and trees, to wreaths and garlands, and showers of roses. Why, the natives of India revel in flowers! These lovely auxiliaries enter into all their rites and ceremonies, domestic, social, and religious. To possess them for these purposes they must needs cultivate them; and we believe that it is solely the great expense attendant upon that cultivation, in a country where water is so precious, that prevents all but the very rich from indulging their natural taste for flowers. We think also that Mr. Richardson does not quite do justice to the natives of India, when he speaks of them as deficient in the art of ornamental arrangement. Eastern India may certainly differ in this respect from the Western Presidency; but we should say, from what we have ourselves witnessed on this side the peninsula, that, not only are the natives passionately fond of flowers, but that the middle and lower castes far surpass Europeans of a corresponding grade in their tasteful combination in nosegays. Who in England would leave to a common domestic the arrangement of the centre piece for the banquet table, or the *bouquets* of the drawing-room? Yet most Indian servants can do this incomparably well, especially the *Mallees* of Guzerat. In fact, the refined eye for the tasteful combination of colours for which the Oriental is held to be so far distinguished above the native of Europe, renders the former a natural adept at this elegant art. The fact of this superiority is now acknowledged even by the French. Witness their laudatory

comments on the Indian Department in both the great World's Fairs. "The vulgarity of European taste" in ornamental art, as compared with that of India, is even the expression ventured upon in a recently-published letter from Paris, evidently translated from the French language. How great a triumph for India! No, it is not "refining" that the native of India wants (we except the Mahrattas and of course the barbarous tribes). He is super-extra-refined already. In matters of taste he often differs from our own standards, and we judge him faulty accordingly; for taste is like orthodoxy, which is always *my* 'doxy—while *your* 'doxy is *heterodoxy*; but it is in breadth and in vigour that we pronounce him wanting—not in refinement.

But we are digressing from the subject of Flowers and Flower Gardens, to which we must now return.

Floriculture has been pronounced by Mr. Richardson a "refining" occupation. We will not dispute this: it may be so, but we have also often heard it lauded for its innocence. Ah! that, we must maintain, is as it may be! Pride found its way into the first garden, and pride lurks in gardens still. "That's my new conservatory, Sir," said a pompous *parvenu* in our hearing, as he pointed to a great glass house he had just erected in full view of his parlour windows; "there's not a finer conservatory in the country. If you can show me a finer, I'll knock it down and build another!" Lady Hyacinth first boiled the bulbs she felt constrained to send at the request of her neighbour Mrs. Rosemary; and D. L. R. himself tells us (page 163) of a floricultivating Dutchman who crushed beneath his foot a valuable tulip root, that his own might be unique.

"Some flowers of Eden we still inherit,
But the trail of the Serpent is over them all!"

We would now say somewhat respecting Mr. Richardson's remarks on poets, and their love of gardening. He says—

"Most poets have a painter's eye for the disposition of forms and colours. Kent's practice as a painter no doubt helped to make him what he was as a landscape gardener. When an architect was consulted about laying out the grounds at Blenheim, he replied, 'You must send for a landscape painter;' he might have added—'or a poet.'"

Our author then proceeds to speak of Pope and Shenstone, and their love for their gardens. • And yet it is a remarkable fact that these two poets—in common, we dare almost say, with all their immediate contemporaries,—appear to have had no notion whatever of landscape-painting in poetry! Pope's attempts at it are invariable failures. Even in his "*Windsor Forest*," where, at

any rate, one should expect to find the solemn beauties of sylvan scenery sung in strains worthy of their grandeur, there is a total absence of graphic description. Classical allusions abound in his mention of natural objects, but nothing pictorial. If he speak of a river, it is

“ Silent Derwent tinged with Danish blood,”

not the azure winding stream of the poet of nature. If he would sing of the approach of night, he tells us of “ nodding mountains” and similar phenomena, till one almost expects to read next of “ snoring woods’ w And if his shepherd reclines by the side of a lake, and gazes into it, he only

spies
The headlong mountains and the downward skies.”

The *topsy* mountains and the *lurvy* skies would have been more expressive of what the poet was aiming at. In fact, our British poets, from the time of Charles the Second’s Restoration down to the *renaissance*, if we may so call it, under Thompson, were all more town and court men, who having scarce a spark of sensibility for unsophisticated nature left underneath their buckram waistcoats and flowing wigs, could not describe what they had not the hearts to feel. Thompson ventured to revive the rural in poetry—the genuine rural—very distinct from the affected pastorals of Pope and Shenstone, with their Dresden China Corydons and Phillises. He first revived it. It was a transition time; and this must excuse his blemishes.

We have already said that, among the poetic *morceaux* illustrative of his theme which are interspersed through the volume we are noticing, are several original pieces by the author himself. From these we select the following, as, we think, the best specimens. D. L. R.’s versification is easy, and shows familiarity with our best poets, but his lyrics in this volume are wanting in originality and poetic fancy. They are verse for the boudoir-album rather than the library.

We will begin with what Mr. Richardson calls “ *A Pair of Sonnets upon the City of Palaces.*” Eight such poems he would probably call “ *A Ring of Sonnets.*”

VIEW OF CALCUTTA.

“ Here Passion’s restless eye and spirit rude
May greet no kindred images of power
To fear and wonder ministrant. No tower,
Time-struck and tenacious, here seems to brood,
In the dread majesty of solitude,
O’er human pride departed—no rocks lower

O'er ravenous billows—no vast hollow wood
Rings with the lion's thunder—no dark bower
The crouching tiger haunts—no gloomy cave
Glitters with savage eyes! But all the scene
Is calm and cheerful. At the mild command
Of Britain's sons, the skilful and the brave,
Fair palace-structures decorate the land,
And proud ships float on Hooghly's breast serene."

SONNET:

ON RETURNING TO CALCUTTA AFTER A VOYAGE TO THE STRAITS
MALACCA.

oods, green fields, and mountains high,
And bright cascades and wide cerulean seas,
Slumbering or snow-wreathed by the freshening breeze,
And isles like motionless clouds upon the sky
In silent summer noons, late charmed mine eye,
Until my soul was stirred like wind-touched trees,
And passionate love and speechless ecstasies
Upraised the thoughts in spiritual depths that lie.
Fair scenes, ye haunt me still! Yet I behold
This sultry city on the level shore
Not all unmoved; for here our fathers bold
Won proud historic names in days of yore,
And here are generous hearts that ne'er grow cold,
And many a friendly hand and open door."

The following stanzas describe the charms of our Indian
Botany Bay:—

THE ISLAND OF PENANG.

I.

"I stand upon the mountain's brow—
I drink the cool fresh breeze—
I see thy little town below,
Thy villas, hedge-rows, fields and trees,
And hail thee with exultant glow
GEM OF THE ORIENTAL SEAS!

II.

A cloud had settled on my heart—
My frame had borne perpetual pain—
I yearned and panted to depart
From dread Bengala's sultry plain;
Fate smiled—Disease withholds his dart—
I breathe the breath of life again!

III.

With lightened heart, elastic tread,
Almost with youth's rekindled flame,
I roam where loveliest scenes outspread
Raise thoughts and visions none could name,
Save those on whom the Muses shed
A spell, a dower of deathless fame.

I feel, but oh ! could ne'er pourtray,
 Sweet Isle ! thy charms of land and wave,
 The bowers that own no winter day,
 The brooks where timid wild birds lave,
 The forest-hills where insects gay*
 Mimic the music of the brave !

V.

I see from this proud airy height †
 A lovely Lilliput below !
 Ships, roads, groves, gardens, mansions white,
 And trees in triadly ordered row,†
 Present almost a toy-like sight,
 A miniature scene, a fairy show !

VI.

But lo ! beyond the ocean stream,
 That like a sheet of silver lies,
 As glorious as a poet's dream
 The grand Malayan mountains rise
 And while their sides in sunlight beam,
 Their dim heads mingle with the skies.

VII.

Men laugh at hards who live *in clouds*—
 The clouds *beneath* me gather now,
 Or gliding slow in solemn crowds,
 Or singly, touched with sunny glow,
 Like mystic shapes in snowy shrouds.
 Or lucid veils on Beauty's brow.

VIII.

While all around the wondering eye
 Beholds enchantments rich and rare—
 Of wood and water, earth and sky,
 A panoramic vision fair :
 The dyal breathes his liquid sigh,
 And magic floats upon the air !

IX.

Oh ! lovely and romantic Isle !
 How cold the heart thou couldst not please !
 Thy very dwellings seem to smile
 Like quiet nests 'mid summer trees !
 I leave thy shores—but weep the while—
 GEN OF THE ORIENTAL SEAS !”

There is some very pretty music in these verses, but we hope
 They will never be translated into any Indian tongue ; for
 They might not their effect be among that Sudder-protected

* The hill trumpeter.

† Nutmeg and Clove plantations.

class called by a native acquaintance of ours, in his best English, "The Thieft"! Our houses would be robbed, and even ourselves perhaps murdered, for the sake of a blessed transmigration from this troublesome world to the "Gem of the Oriental Seas"!

Major Macgregor's "Specimens of Greek Anthology" now claim our notice.

In his prefatory page, the author thus vows fidelity to the sense of his originals while rendering their spirit:—

"I have carefully studied, and, I believe, *correctly rendered every line* I have translated. Perhaps, in such an attempt, a critical and complete knowledge of the original is less required than that its spirit and sense should be *faithfully* conveyed in an agreeable form to the general reader."

Which is as much as to say, that to know perfectly is of less importance than to impart correctly, as if the last did not depend upon the first! But, O knight, faithful and true—or, rather, should we not say, O knight who keepest no faith with heathen Greeks—is *sixpence*, then, the "correct" and "faithful" sense of the Greek word so translated in page 5?—

XI.

NICARCHUS.

The stingy wretch had hung himself to-day,
But for the rope he grudged so much to pay;
Thinking its cost at *sixpence* all too high."

Or "*butler*," in page 13—

"But we, thy guests, all kinds of salted things
Eat, but no circling cup thy *butler* brings."

Our poet will quote Scripture perhaps in defence of his "*pence*" and his "*butler*." And yet we feel these words as inadmissible, *poetically*, in a Greek epigram, as we felt another familiar word of modern use to be *Scripturally* in the French Protestant translation of the 2nd Chapter of St. John's Gospel, where the passage our English Bible renders "Bear to the governor of the feast" is translated "Portez-le au maître d'hôtel"! In the following *jeu d'esprit*, however, our gallant and learned poet has broken his faith so frankly and honestly (if our readers will forgive the Iricism)—and it was so necessary to the point on which the wit turns, to substitute for the true translation any words that would serve the purpose, however unmistakably modern—that he must, though clearly guilty, be acquitted of his perjury, as surely as if his case had gone up to—We will not say what we were going to say, "thinking its cost at sixpence" might prove too *low*.

L.

NICARCHUS.

" I can no more—on that old wife, sand-blind and deaf as stone,
 A bore, a blockhead, let the street, Onesimus, be shown.
 If I but tell her, as is wont, my pot o' tea to get,
 Potatoes from the kitchen quick will she before me set :
 Last night when I a pillow ask'd to ease mine aching brow,
 She fetched me—only fancy what—a huge and hot *pillau* :
 She'll pepper-box for paper-case, for biscuit basket give,
 Nay! bid her serve the asparagus, she brings a cinder-sieve :
 When told to heat she eats my toast, for bowl she hands a bow,
 In short, whatever one may ask, she nothing seems to know.
 Sore shame it is that I for her like common crier shout,
 Wak'ning the house with horrid din—by Jove we'll turn her out !"

In the above case, we have accepted the wit—such as it is—as an excuse for travesty instead of translation ; but what shall we say with respect to the " fan" in page 52—

" Which in its *folded wing* conceals an artificial breeze" ?

A happy line in itself, but one whose fluttering image, familiar as silk hose and white kid gloves, whirled us away from all Greek visions—from all groves and daphnes, sandals, tunics, and robes of Tyrian dye, to regions redolent of powder and patches, hoops and rouge,—to the " cedar parlour" of Miss Byron and her Sir Charles,—to Spain and her grim duennas,—to France and her bright coquettes ; and thence, on its " artificial breeze," even to the flowery land and

" The half-shut glances of Kathy."

Can it be possible that the female friends of " Archias" used folded fans ? And yet the poet professes to have " correctly rendered every line" he has translated.

But, whatever may be his fidelity, or otherwise, in translation, we cannot compliment Major Macgregor on his versification, which is generally stiff, and sometimes harsh. He is also much too apt to end with a flat or a drawled line,—faults fatal to the epigram, which fails in its first essentials if it be not both in structure and termination as polished and as pointed as even the sword of Sivajee itself—" the bright and piercing Bhowanee."

From the impression made by his verse, we should have thought the following satire in page 6 a description of the Major's own Pegasus. At any rate, we think that, as a " specimen," it is illustrative of the observations we have just made.—

XIV.

LUCILLIUS.

" Friend Erasistratus boasts oft his fine Thessalian horse,
 Whom not all spells of Thessaly can to a caper force,

- A horse of very wood, for whom, if all the Phrygians joined
- With all the Greeks, at Scæa's gate they entrance ne'er could find.
- Me if you heed, present him soon an offering to some shrine,
- And for your little children make his oats in gruel fine."

How *could* the author of "Indian Leisure" send such a line as this last to the printer's? Rather should he have devoted long hours of that leisure to weaving it into something tolerable, even though, like Anacreon Moore, he tore a pair of gloves to pieces in the effort. That bulbul of melodists once spent a whole day over two lines (so he tells us in his diary), and even that would not do. How many minutes of "Indian Leisure" were vouchsafed to the compounding of these lamentable groats? (N.B. Oatmeal gruel was an infant diet among the Greeks!) Again we feel qualms and doubts come over us as regards the fidelity of our translator! Nor ought we (supposing our misgivings to be well founded) ~~to be~~ deemed hypercritical for noticing and objecting to inaccuracies of this sort, though to some they may seem unimportant; for, in truth, all renderings that are false to what Byron and Moore would have reckoned as appertaining to "*costume*," destroy the value of a translation from the poems of an ancient people; which, as it can never give a notion of the music of the original, can only be perused by the unlearned for the sake of becoming acquainted with what those writings reveal of the manners, customs, and modes of thinking of ages past. We always felt considerable disturbance of mind when reading in one of Professor Wilson's beautifully-translated Hindu Dramas, of the porter lolling "in his *easy chair*," for we could not but account such an image quite foreign to the habits of India. But it was an isolated instance, and did not therefore much shake our confidence. If the Professor had made his Buddhists and Brahmans speak of their dinners of minced veal, of their wives' bonnets, or their sons' skates, we should have thrown the book aside as valueless.

To return to our author's versification. His beginnings are generally better than his endings. Some of his commencing lines are both graceful and musical, and this makes us perhaps the more disposed to quarrel with his harsh conclusions. We feel it hard to be invited to drink a sparkling draught of Helicon, and then find ourselves condemned to a dreg of gravel as our last mouthful!

But enough of these complainings!—enough of our "harsh conclusions"! Our last mouthful shall *not* be gravel, but right pleasant quaffings from the brimming amphora of "Macedonius the

Consul," whose Bacchanalian strains are, we think, among the most spirited of Major Macgregor's "Specimens":—

XCH.

MACEDONIUS THE CONSUL.

" I wish'd not gold, nor with the earth's proud cities to be blest,
Nor wherewithal blind Homer says that ancient Thebes possess,
But that with lov'd Lyxæan wine the round cup still may gleam,
While evermore its lip is wash'd by an o'erflowing stream,
Whereof to drink the garrulous choir of gray-beards love to join,
While labour on the cold and wise, mere treaders of the vine.
That plenteously this treasure'd bliss be mine is all I ask,
Nor for the golden Conulars care while I hold by the flask."

XCV.

MACEDONIUS THE CONSUL.

" The champions of Iacchus, King, we, drinkers fast and far,
The course will order of the feast where cups our weapons are,
And from Lyxæus' liberal gifts we'll large libations make.
For glories of Triptolemus the care let others take,
Where are the plough, the harness-yoke, the coulter, and the line,
The cornfield and the footprints of the ravish'd Proserpine:
But for the month, if ever need of any food there be,
The raisin of the vine's enough for drinkers such as we."

ART. IV.—OUR MARITIME SURVEYS AND THE DANGERS OF THE OCEAN.

1. *Horsburgh's East India Sailing Directory.* 6th Edition, 2 vols. 4to. London: 1852.
2. *Chart of the Indian Ocean.* By J. WALKER, Geographer to the East India Company. London: 1855.
3. *Transactions of the Bombay Geographical Society.* 1856-1853.

WHEN the "St. Abbs" was lost the other day on the reefs of St. Juan de Nova, to the north-east of Madagascar, her captain pleaded that he possessed a chart on which a most erroneous position was assigned to them. We fear this is but a too common failing of charts in general, and of those of the Indian seas in particular; and the evil will not be rooted out till a generous and enlightened Government make it their duty to see that no charts be published without authority, or, if published, that

they be first submitted to competent examiners, so that any errors may be brought to the notice of the compilers and the public. We propose now to pass in review the Charts and Sailing Directories for the Indian Ocean,—to show their deficiencies, and to point out what has been done, and what yet remains to be done, before we can become accurately acquainted with the hydrography and geography of the sea-board of the land in which our lot is cast, its harbours, its rocks and shoals, as well as those obstacles which are in the way of a vessel sailing from the mother country.

Amongst the books of direction the first place is occupied by Horsburgh's,—an invaluable work, but requiring alterations and adaptations to the present state of our knowledge. Since the death of that great hydrographer but little new matter has crept into its pages, and no one undertakes their revision, although the *Nautical Magazine*, and other books and papers, contain numerous notices of dangers newly discovered, and of others which once were set down as doubtful, but are now shown to have never existed. Old ports, too, as Surat, have seen their best days, and new ones, as Kurrachee, have sprung into existence; yet is the mariner left to find out, by hook or by crook, the peculiar features of the land to which his ship is bound, and no single volume comprises the information which he so much requires.

The authority of the East India Company does not extend to the westward of the Cape; so we invite the reader, after rounding that headland with us, to dive into Horsburgh, and pore over our chart to see what lies in our way. We must premise that it is a general one of the Indian Ocean, from the Cape of Good Hope to Calcutta, including the Red Sea and Persian Gulf. It professes to be “compiled from the most recent surveys of the East India Company's officers, and those of the Royal Navy; by John Walker, Geographer to the East India Company,” and, bearing as it does the date 1855, is the latest publication of which we are cognisant. As it comes also from the Honorable Company's Geographer, and thus has the stamp of authenticity, we should expect to find it as correct as possible.

The real state of the case is this:—Seven shoals, all marked doubtful, stare us in the face. We then turn to see Horsburgh's opinion of them, and to learn how to avoid them, and find that he mentions some of them, at the same time giving a list of many others that seem as uncertain and equally alarming: Under the head of doubtful dangers he also mentions the Canning shoal, in about 39° 40' south latitude and 26° 43' east longitude, reported as having been actually sounded, and as having had the nature of

its bottom clearly defined; yet this is struck off our chart. The Telemaque shoal, though reported by several ships, whose assigned positions vary greatly, is said not to exist. Here is the notice:—
 “It is satisfactory for navigators to know, that they have no longer any cause to apprehend danger on the supposed Telemaque shoal; for, although it is said to have been seen by several ships, as stated above, H. M. S. ‘Heron,’ Captain Hammer, was employed in endeavoring to discover this shoal, and its non-existence has been published in the *Government Gazette* at the Cape of Good Hope, in a letter from Captain Hammer to Captain F. Moresby, senior officer there, at the ‘Heron’s’ return.” Yet one captain and his passengers were firmly of opinion that they had passed over a dangerous coral shoal of great extent, having, apparently, not more than two fathoms on some parts of the rocks; but anxiety, arising from the imminent danger in which they believed themselves to be, prevented them from taking soundings, and, strange to say, a ship’s company thus left a doubtful shoal without having taken means to assure themselves of their danger or safety.

The Otter shoal, the Union, the Dutch, the Atalanta, and Slotvan Capelle, five out of the seven marked on the chart, are noticed by Horsburgh. The Union is reported as a rock twenty yards in length, and six feet above water. The Atalanta as having rocks above water. The Slotvan Capelle is stated to have been noticed by many vessels, and sounded upon—the very nature of the bottom being defined. Yet we read—“Notwithstanding the above account, the existence of the Slotvan Capelle shoal seems very doubtful.” The two rocks (two crosses indicate them to be such)—one in latitude $37^{\circ} 20'$ south, the other in $38^{\circ} 20'$ south, and in the same longitude, $38^{\circ} 45'$ east, are not mentioned by Horsburgh.

Going further north, we find on our chart a patch of rocks about 200 miles south-west of Madagascar island, and to the east and north-east of Rodrigue; at nearly a like distance, two shoals, one “seen by a French ship,” the other “doubtful”! Our book ignores them, and gives us the following remarks relative to most of these doubtful dangers:—

“Spots of discoloured water were seen in the Ship ‘Wellington,’ 9th January 1817, in latitude $39^{\circ} 53'$ south, longitude $71^{\circ} 43'$ east, with apparently 8 to 10, or 12 fathoms water over them, resembling coral shoals; she sailed seven miles among these patches, which were separated from each other about one or two hundred yards, and none of them appeared above 60 or 70 yards in diameter. She did not sound, as it blew a gale whilst running through amongst these patches, with an officer on the

topsail-yard to direct the course; afterwards she got into clear water, and soon lost sight of them.

"There is great probability that the exuviae of fish, patches and beds of spawn, dead whales, or part of the wrecks of ships, which are not unfrequently seen floating on the sea in these latitudes during the summer months, have been mistaken at times for banks, shoals, or rocks near the water's edge; for some of these patches are of a reddish or brown colour, others resemble sawdust, and might easily be mistaken for sand-banks. The supposed rock seen by the American ship 'Union,' might probably have been a dead whale, surrounded by a bed of fish-spawn resembling a sand-bank, with rippings, like breakers, extending from it, occasioned by a collision of currents, which phenomenon has deceived many navigators. It may, however, be prudent to keep a good look-out, when near any of the situations described above, although the existence of most, or even any of these dangers, appears to be very doubtful. Fishes of uncommon size, seen at times in the Southern Ocean, may be mistaken for dangers; an instance of this happened to the ship 'Hercules' in June 1816, as may be perceived by the following extract from her Journal:—'At 2½ p. m. the man at the mast-head said he saw a rock on the larboard bow, which was thought to be the Stotvan Capelle shoal, as we were looking out for it; the weather being fine, steered towards it to have a good view. About 2¾ p. m. another was seen about two miles on the starboard bow, and we appeared to be passing between them; shortly afterwards, to our astonishment, saw one right ahead, not far from us, and while in the act of hauling away from it, we observed it disappear suddenly, showing an immense fish's tail as it descended below the surface of the sea. The ship, no doubt, had disturbed it, as it lay without motion before we got close, the sea then making a small break on the head or fore part of the body of the animal, which was about 16 feet above water, and about 30 feet in circumference, of a white gray colour, covered with a mixture of barnacle, seaweed, &c. like a wreck that had been long in the water. The length could not be determined, but it must have been great, by the appearance of the discoloured water over the animal. If we had not got suddenly close to it, we should positively have declared that we had seen rocks above water, about a mile distant from each other, as these huge animals lay without motion, part of them about sixteen feet above water, and the sea breaking upon them.' It is much to be regretted, that modern navigators have reported so many dangers to the southward and eastward of Capé Agulhas, without having examined any of them, leaving their existence in great doubt. Whereas in none of the Journals of the Company's ships during the 17th and part of the 18th century, is there any notice of dangers supposed to exist in those seas."

Unfortunately these ill-founded reports have injurious effects. Doubtful dangers are handed down as heir-looms to posterity—a great impediment to safe navigation; and as a merchant whose object is a speedy voyage, cannot go out of his way to examine these shoals, it becomes the duty of the Navy to correct the charts by which he navigates his ship.

On an old chart by Norie, dated 1823, we have more dangers delineated, and so we purpose indenting upon it in this article.

We find in it two islands, Denia and Marseveen, between the parallels of 40° and 42° south, and the meridian of 20° and 21° east. Barker's rock, McNevins shoal, Dutch bank, Fortune's shoal, Belliqueux, and Hagus, are also placed in the vicinity of the seven shoals above mentioned; indeed, the Dutch bank appears to be one of those nameless and doubtful rocks to which we alluded. In the meridian of Bourbon, or, as it is now called Reunion Island, and in 28° south latitude, Norie's chart shows the Juan of Lisboa shoal; and 14° east of that Remeiros island or shoal; also the Southern Roqueriz, 100 miles east of the Saya de Malha bank; 18 degrees further east of that the Grafton; and still further eastward the Teno Briton.

It may naturally be asked why we refer to Norie's antiquated chart, when the subject of our review is Walker's more recent publication. We reply, that we are desirous of fixing out why, and on what authority, all these doubtful dangers were rejected from the latter, whilst others were retained; and, although we cannot elucidate this from the data before us, perhaps India House records may show the reason of this novel plan for diminishing the dangers of the ocean.

To resume our navigation of Walker's chart from the Cape of Good Hope to India. By good luck or good management, or both, we have passed all the dangers south of Mauritius, and now give our attention to Rodrigue Island, the Cargados Garagos, the Seychelles, the Chagos Archipelago, the Saya de Malha bank, and others. The longitude of Rodrigue Island is given in Horsburgh as $63^{\circ} 29'$ east, but not as a meridian distance which correct geography requires. A foot note tells us—"It was formerly placed about 3 leagues further west" (of $63^{\circ} 29'$ east of course—mark this). However, Captain Hart, of H. M. S. "Melville," made the east point in longitude $63^{\circ} 36'$ east, by means of four chronometers measured to Port Louis. On calculation, then, we find a difference of 16 miles between its former assigned position and that laid down by Captain Hart. Horsburgh's and Walker's longitudes are within a few leagues of each other. A shoal, whose position is doubtful, is placed by the latter authority 190 miles east of this island; and in $17^{\circ} 30'$ south and $65^{\circ} 20'$ east, another "seen in the 'Anacreon' French ship in 1837."

Again leaving Walker's chart for awhile, we turn to the account of the Bombay Geographical Society's anniversary meeting held on the third of May 1838, that we may learn from the officer who surveyed these islands what portion is known. In the 1st Volume

of the Transactions, page 378, we find the following under the head of "Maritime Surveys":—

"In continuation of the notice which we printed in our Annual Report for May 1837, giving an account of the progress of the surveys in this department for that year, we have now to report, that the surveys of the Chagos Archipelago and Saya de Malha bank, which were then in operation, have since terminated, Captain Moresby having returned to Bombay in the 'Benares' in September last. Of the Chagos, Owen's bank still remains to be examined to complete the survey. Captain Moresby observes, with reference to this bank (Owen's), that as fixed by Mr. Horsburgh, it is placed in the charts in longitude $70^{\circ} 12'$ east deduced from Diego Garcia, but as I place Diego Garcia eight miles to the east, Owen's Bank will be in latitude $6^{\circ} 46\frac{1}{2}'$ south, and longitude $70^{\circ} 20'$ east. Of the unexplored portion of the Saya de Malha, it is stated that the southern half of this bank has been well sounded, and the survey completed as far as latitude $9^{\circ} 37'$ south. From this point to its northern extremity, in latitude $8^{\circ} 40'$, a space of about 90 miles, extending north-north-west, remains unsurveyed, which would take a vessel one month to complete. Captain Moresby does not consider that the longitude of Saya de Malha has been well fixed. He recommends chronometric measurements to be taken from Diamond Island. Peros Banhos, which is situated (the establishment there) in latitude $5^{\circ} 15'$ south, and longitude $71^{\circ} 48'$ east, thence he would proceed to Owen's bank, then to the Saya de Malha, and, commencing in latitude 10° south, longitude $62^{\circ} 10'$ to $62^{\circ} 20'$ east, he would run along the east edge of the bank in 10 or 15 fathoms, as far south as $10^{\circ} 50'$, by which the longitude of the east side of the bank would be determined. He then recommends proceeding to the north end of the bank to fix that extremity, and afterwards to run to the Seychelles, and after determining the geographical site of the landing-place at Mahe, to run to Peros Banhos, to verify these measurements. This operation would take four or five months to execute correctly; and Captain Moresby adds, that there still remains a large extent of unexplored space among the Seychelles islands, which requires to be surveyed."

We omit the paragraph in praise of these charts, as we are advocates for accuracy rather than beauty. Further on will be seen how an engineer can find fault with them, because they omit to state the heights of such land as skirts the sea-board.

"In the year 1828, Commander Moresby was engaged in surveying the Laccadives; in February 1829 he proceeded under the orders of the present Superintendent to the Red Sea, to report on the ports of that sea in reference to their capabilities for forming coal depots, and on the practicability of navigating by steam between Bombay and Suez. He afterwards received command of the 'Palinurus,' one of the vessels destined for the survey of the Red Sea. This important survey was commenced in September 1829. The coast between Suez and Juddah was allotted to him, whilst the late Captain Elwon undertook the examination of the coast, islands, &c., between Juddah and the Straits of Babelmandeb. This survey was not finished until May 1834; and, besides executing the portion which was originally assigned to him, he had to complete the southern half, in consequence of Captain Elwon being called away to take up his situation as Commodore

in the Persian Gulf. His survey of the Maldives, which has been already noticed, commenced in September 1834."

In the "Transactions of the Geographical Society" we find that after the departure of Sir Charles Malcolm, the first act of Captain Oliver's reign, and the first of a series of retrenchments in the Navy, was the discontinuance of all maritime surveys on this side of India. This we learn from the quarterly meeting of the Society in November 1839, when a letter from the Secretary of the Royal Geographical Society was read, in which he adverts to the intelligence of this measure received through an officer of the Indian Navy, expressing great astonishment and regret that, "after all the expenditure of life and treasure in the beautiful surveys of the Persian Gulf, of the Red Sea, and half of the southern coasts of Arabia, the other half should remain unsurveyed." As no further examination has been made of that part of the ocean now under consideration, we must still hold as good the observations made by Captain Moresby.

Turning to our chart we find that the northern part of the Saya de Malha has the reputation of possessing shoal spots of four fathoms. Horsburgh (corrected to 1841) does not allude to Captain R. Moresby's examination of it, but with reference to the shoal water on it, writes—

"Navigators are still left in a state of uncertainty, whether or not any part of this bank is dangerous, but as the 'Cornwallis' had seven fathoms, the 'Northumberland' seven fathoms on another part, the 'Preston' only 6½ fathoms, coral rock, on a different part, and the 'Colombo' 6½ fathoms on the eastern edge, caution ought certainly to be used by those who happen to get upon this bank; more so, as a French navigator of the island Mauritius states, that there are dangers on the southern extremity, where a ship would be liable to strike on some of the coral patches; and the 'Eliza,' French schooner, is said to have been in four fathoms, close to breakers on this part of the bank."

This account makes the four-fathom patches to be on the southern part of the banks, and Walker's chart has them on both northern and southern extremes.

About 200 miles to the west of the Saya de Malha is the island Agalega, whose position is uncertain, and requires confirmation. Between the Saya and the parallel of 5° south we have a goodly list of dangers; for instance, George island very doubtful! Rose Galley rocks doubtful! Bridgewater, or Roquepiz island, doubtful! As for the Swift bank at George island, it is not mentioned by Horsburgh.

Of Roquepiz he writes:—

"It is a low sandy island, thought to lie in latitude 6° 24' south, about longitude 60° east; but if it exist, is probably the Sandy Isle, with

breakers extending about three miles from it, said to have been seen in the 'Ridgewater' at 10 A. M. the 6th December 1812, then distant six or seven miles, and situated in latitude $6^{\circ} 27'$ south, longitude $60^{\circ} 4'$ east (its southern extremity), which may perhaps be the doubtful island Itoquepiz."

The Boscawen and middle passages between the Seychelles and the Chagos Archipelago are shunned on account of doubtful danger. Our Directory says of them—

"The middle passage is that to the eastward of the Madagascar Archipelago, having this and the Seychelle islands to the westward, and the Chagos Archipelago to the eastward. Boscawen Passage, named after Admiral Boscawen, who in 1748, with a fleet of 26 sail, proceeded from the island Mauritius to India by this passage, is more to the westward, or directly to the northward of the islands Mauritius and Bourbon, towards the island Galega, and to the westward of Cargados Garagos and Sna de Malha bank; then from Galega, to the eastward of the Seychelle islands. This route is shorter than the middle passage, and would be generally preferred, *were the positions of all the low dangerous islands and banks adjoining to it correctly known*; but as all of them are not, ships proceeding by the passage, if not certain of the longitude, should get a sight of Mauritius or Bourbon in passing, and afterwards of Galega, steering the course requisite to avoid the dangers on either side of the passage."

Between Agalega island and the Seychelles, we have the Coetivy island and Fortune bank, both with several positions assigned to them. Horsburgh says:—"About 45 leagues north-north-east from Fortune bank, in about latitude $5^{\circ} 12'$ south, there is another bank, according to the French, with soundings on it from 13 to 31 fathoms." Our chart has it not. Between Madagascar and the Amirante isles lies a heap of islands and reefs, on one of which the "St. Abbs" was lost. Horsburgh calls them the Juan de Nova Group, and talks of a group of twelve islands said to be about ten leagues to the north-west of them. Walker's chart styles them the Farquhar islands, and shows six islands to the westward. The master of the ill-fated vessel gives a lamentable picture of Blackford's chart, and here we see that the accounts of Walker and Horsburgh are not alike. Doubtless these dangers are included in Captain R. Moresby's "large extent of unexplored space among the Seychelles." Twenty miles north of Providence island, between Madagascar and the Amirante island, the chart shows us the Wizard breakers, but we find no notice of them elsewhere.

With regard to the islands and dangers in the Mozambique Channel, there appears to be no difference of opinion between Horsburgh and Walker. The former says they are tolerably well known; but that is not, we think, sufficient for the purposes of navigation. Doubtless, we shall ere long have a more extended

examination of them. In a return made to the House of Commons in 1848 from the Hydrographic Department of the Admiralty, it is stated that—

“The charts of the whole of the Cape colony are exceedingly defective; and from thence to the Portuguese settlements of Delagoa we know scarcely anything. From Delagoa to the Red Sea, and the whole contour of Madagascar, are sufficiently represented on our charts for the general purposes of navigation, though many further researches along the former coast might still be profitably made. The Red Sea, part of the coast of Arabia, the Gulf of Persia, and many detached portions of the East Indies, have been already executed by the Company's officers; and no doubt it is intended that the coasts of Malabar and Coromandel shall soon be undertaken by the same hands. The long Malay Peninsula and the Straits of Malacca will require much time and skill to complete, and to combine with each other those parts that have been surveyed. With the China Sea we are daily becoming better acquainted, but much is still to be done there; for, probably, not one of the multitude of rocks and shoals with which it is almost covered is put exactly in its right position; and, while some are repeated two or three times, others have been omitted. On the coast of China the charts are excellent, from Canton round to the mouth of the great river Yang-tse-kiang; but of the Yellow Sea we know very little, and still less of the Corea, Japan, and the coast of Tartary, and up to the confines of the Russian empire. The southern passages into the China seas have never been examined with the care they deserve; and all that is known of what are called the passages through the Great Malay Archipelago are only the results of the casual observations and sketches made years ago by industrious seamen. The islands and surrounding shores of the Arafura Sea, if better known, would offer many ports of refuge, and probably an increased opening to commercial enterprise. The Strait of Torres has been satisfactorily surveyed; but, before it becomes the great highway for steam-vessels to and from Sydney, its approaches, and also its contiguous coasts of New Guinea, should be more intimately known. The whole circuit of the great island of Australia has been well explored, and the general characteristics of its several shores are sufficiently known for all general purposes; but far more minute surveys of its immediate waters and maritime resources must precede their being inhabited, beginning with the eastern coast, along which the tide of colonisation seems to be already ceasing. The shores of Tasmania, in like manner, are but very roughly laid down, and even to this day there is no chart of the harbour and entrance to Hobart Town, its capital and principal seat of trade. A full survey of New Zealand has just been commenced, and will no doubt answer all the wants of both the settler and navigator.”

We shall from time to time refer the reader to this Report of Admiral Beaufort, as it relates to the Indian Ocean. Nothing is said in it of the dangers we have been exposing, but these were of course left for the additional Report called for by Parliament from the East India Company, which was, if we recollect aright, made patent to the Bombay public. The Rose Galley rocks, Swift's bank, Roquepiz, and George islands, are directly in the track of vessels

sailing by the southern passage to Kurrachee, the Persian Gulf, and Red Sea, from the eastern parts of India, and from Bombay to the Red Sea and Persian Gulf. It will be seen, that in the foregoing Report, the coast of Africa from Delagoa to the Red Sea is said to be sufficiently represented on our charts for the general purposes of navigation; but it is well known in Bombay, that the only chart of it in existence was made after the flying survey of Admiral Owen, and that the longitude is incorrect. Correct surveys have only extended so low as Ras Ifafoon. It may be in the recollection of some of our readers, that the wreck of the "Memnon" led people to ask where were the charts of that part of the north-east coast of Africa, which was known to have been surveyed in 1838 by Captain Carless; and on referring to the first volume of the Geographical Society's Transactions we find a letter from that officer concerning his operations there, from which we learn that his longitudes differed by ten miles from Captain Owen's. The island of Socotra, and its adjacent islets and shoals, have been carefully examined, and the charts published.

Now that we have arrived at the southern limit of the surveys executed by the officers of the Indian Navy, we shall proceed to Bombay, the head quarters of that service, and, after giving some account of the place, make it the starting point for a review of the Navy's labours. The harbour has during the last year been again examined by our officers. We are still in the dark as to the results, but believe the survey had reference to the formation of wet docks, and dry docks larger than the present ones, which are insufficient for both the merchant fleet and navy. As we may expect that some of those "monsters of the deep" which the war now keeps employed as steam-transports, may some day enter our harbour, it is as well that we should be prepared with more spacious docks for their repair. As for the dangers of the harbour, Horsburgh gives abundant directions for clearing them; but as many of his marks are old forts, mosques, or temples since fallen into decay, or at least so defaced by time as to be no longer plainly visible, and as many new buildings have arisen on our shores, we shall doubtless, when the new survey comes to be published, have all these corrected,—a most important alteration, should the light-vessels have to be removed in any future war.

Now, let us see what charts we possess—charts, we mean, which have been given to the world; for many, we fear, are born to blush unseen, and waste their sweetness on the teakwood shelf. Maclure's charts of the west coast of Hindustan, executed in

1786, ~~are~~ still the only guide for the whole coast from Cape Comorin to Diu Head; and between the former place and Bombay the longitude given is confessedly erroneous by some 20 miles, and in the report which they contain the errors of previous charts are avowed. The line of the Malabar coast was stated to have been, until a very few years ago, erroneously laid down in *all* charts; but we are not aware of any being extant, except those of MacLure. The general chart by Walker cannot be considered in our catalogue of charts for the coast of India, as the entire line from Bombay to Cape Comorin is compressed into a space of $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

To meet the requirements of the Navy, and of some merchants in our city who were so inquisitive as to ask Government for the results of some surveys which were known to have been undertaken along our coasts, a lithographed chart for making Bombay, and one in manuscript of the coast between Kurrachee and Cape Comorin, were issued by permission. As the surveys have all been made within the last 15 or 17 years, we suppose that the materials for this compilation were:—a survey of the coast of Sind, by Lieutenants Grieve and Selby; that of the Gulf of Cutch, by Lieutenant Taylor; of the west coast of Kattywar by Lieutenants Grieve and Constable; its south-east coast, and the Gulf of Cambay, by Lieutenant Ethersey; and the remaining portion, from Surat to Bombay, by Lieutenants Rennie and Selby; that of the harbour and coast south of Bombay, as far as Bancoot, by Captain Cogan; the bank of soundings off Bombay, from Diu Head on the north to Angria's bank on the south, by Lieutenant Selby; and portions of the Malabar coast by the same officer and Lieutenant Taylor. We learn from the Report of the proceedings of the Geographical Society for 1837, that Captain Cogan's survey was made in 1828; but we will here quote much of the Report, as it throws light on other surveyed localities:—

“*Survey of the Coast of Kattywar and Gulf of Cambay, &c.*—The examination of the western coast of Kattywar, as far as Diu Island, including the survey of Bate harbour, having been previously completed by the late Lieutenant Whitelock, assisted by Mr. Jones, Lieutenant Ethersey, Indian Navy, has been enabled this season to finish his survey of this Gulf, which was commenced in 1834. His operations have extended from Diu Island to Goapnauth point, along the Kattywar coast, around the head of the Gulf, and down the eastern shore, as far south as Surat, including the mouths of the important rivers which discharge their waters into this arm of the sea—the Saburmatty, Mayhe, Dhardar, and Nerbudda—the latter of which he has examined as far as the city of Broach. This service has afforded Lieutenant Ethersey the opportunity of observing attentively, for two successive seasons, the Bore, or rushing tide, which is witnessed at the head of the Gulf; and on this interesting phenomenon he

has drawn up an excellent memoir, which has been presented by Government to this Society. He has likewise laid down with laborious detail the extensive shoals called the Malacca banks, fixed the position of, and ascertained the soundings along that part of the coast of the northern Concan extending between St. John's and Bassein. Adjoining the southern limit of Lieutenant Ethersey's survey,* 65 miles of coast line remain still to be examined, between Dony's at the mouth of the Taptee and St. John's, and again between Bassein and Bombay. Captain Cogan's survey of the coast in 1828, including the survey of Bombay harbour, extended between the latitude of this island and the mouth of Bancote river. From that point south, to Cape Comorin, no recent detailed or scientific survey of the western coast of the peninsula has yet been made, and it is notorious, that the general position of this line of coast was, until a few years ago, erroneously laid down in all the charts. The same may be observed of the coast of Cutch, and the shores of that Gulf from the eastern (Khore) branch of the Indus, to Bate, situated at the north-west angle of the Kattyawar peninsula. While it is in contemplation shortly to survey the Gulf of Manaar, it is not probable that the unsurveyed portion of the western coast—the accurate examination of which is equally, if not more important to navigation—will remain long neglected.

Survey of the Chagos Archipelago.—The chain of the Maldives has been completely surveyed by Commander Moresby in the 'Benares,' and that officer is now engaged in a similar survey of the Chagos Archipelago. This survey will embrace the Speaker's bank, and all the banks and shoals adjacent to this group. The surveyors will then proceed to the examination of the bank of Saya de Malha, situated five degrees south-east of the Seychelles, where they will continue operations as long as their supplies allow them. Before concluding operations for this season, Captain Moresby will probably add to his other surveys that of the great and little Basses, lying off the south-east of the coast of Ceylon."

Some years ago, there was circulated a lithographed notice by the late Captain Daniel Ross, at that time Master Attendant of our port, concerning the relative longitudes of Bombay, Madras, and Mangalore; in which it was stated that all the islands and dangers of the Laccadives were placed on all charts too far east by eighteen miles, owing to a wrong longitude having been assigned to Mangalore, from which place Captain Moresby started on his chronometric measurements. Whether the same mistake occurred regarding the Maldives, we are not aware. Several years ago we saw a map of the earlier triangulation of the Grand Trigonometric Survey of India, engraved, we think, about the time of Waterloo, which, as a matter of course, showed the true position of the coasts; but it does not appear that the knowledge gained by that magnificent undertaking was extended to the correction of our nautical surveys, although in both cases our geographer in England has been entrusted with the engraving of the results.

* Since executed by Lieutenant Rennie.

In a memoir on the Surveys of India, to be found further on, will be seen the years in which these meridional distances were measured; and certainly they might have been applied, more than 30 years ago, to the correction of our charts.

The manuscript chart of the west coast of India, which is now issued to the public of Bombay, is said to be compiled from the latest surveys and most authentic records. In this the position of Angria's bank is wrong; it is represented as much larger than it really is, and we are not shown what is the least water by which it is covered. On the Lushington bank, at the entrance of the Gulf of Cutch, 9 instead of $3\frac{1}{2}$ fathoms are shown as the least water. A sand-bank, dry at low water, two or three miles off the north-west point of the Kattywar coast, is omitted; and this is directly in the line of small steamers running from Dwarka to Mandavie. At our very doors a reef called the Choul Kadoo, on which, if we mistake not, the "Christian" was wrecked, about $7\frac{1}{2}$ miles south-east of Khanery, is omitted; and, indeed, the face of the whole sea-board is so disfigured, that it is as difficult to recognise as that of a prize-fighter after a protracted "mill." Report says that the bank of soundings off Bombay, extending from Diu Head to Angria's bank, has been inaccurately transferred. On this chart, however, we find a new bank (Wadge's) to the south-westward of Cape Comorin, which has not yet been examined. The lithograph, entitled a "Chart for making Bombay Harbour," sold at Bombay, is said to be equally inaccurate in its delineation of the bank of soundings off Bombay, more particularly as to the nature of the bottom. The rise of spring tides at our harbour is given as 19 feet, whereas $18\frac{1}{2}$ is the greatest ever recorded, and 17 is a high rise. The shore is in this also most inaccurately depicted, and the nature of the coast cannot be understood or determined by the mode in which its delineation is executed. This shows what responsibility a person incurs in the compilation of charts that have to be reduced from a large to a small scale. With reference to this matter, and also to engraving, the readers will find below an extract from a very able Report of Captain Jervis on the Surveys of India. We may merely observe now, that these two charts, and some of the harbours and bays on the Malabar coast, are all the benefit the public has as yet derived from the surveys which, during the last ten years, have been made by the Indian Navy between Surat and Cape Comorin. A chart of the coast of Sind has been published on three large sheets; that of the Gulf of Cutch has not yet made its appearance.

Charts, and their inaccuracies.

Of Ceylon we never remember to have seen a complete chart on a large scale; indeed, the report given in a former page shows that it was in contemplation to survey the Great and Little Basses on the south-east coast when Captain Moresby had finished the Saya de Malha, &c., but this intention, as we have shown, was not fulfilled. Mr. Twynan, the Master Attendant at Point de Galle, has surveyed several detached portions of the Ceylon coast, and directions respecting it are given in Horsburgh. Mr. Franklin has similarly examined some portions of the Coromandel coast for the Madras Government; but we never saw a complete chart of it, and Admiral Beaufort in his Report says:—"No doubt it is intended that the coasts of Malabar and Coromandel shall soon be undertaken by the same hands" (the East India Company's officers). The Sandheads and Sunderbunds were carefully examined by Captain Lloyd, of the Indian Navy; and an officer of the Bengal Marine or Pilot service is constantly employed in noting the changes of the Hooghly's mouths. Of the coast eastward of the Sunderbunds to Arracan, we cannot state with any certainty what is known; in fact, we are getting out of our depth when we approach the surveys on the Bengal or Madras side. We do not recollect to have seen any perfect charts of the Bay of Bengal. The Andaman and Nicobar islands are a *terra incognita*. The only chart we know of the coasts of Arracan and Burmah, was a compilation by an officer of the Bengal Marine, and much of that was evidently the result of a flying survey. Nevertheless, Bengal must be rich in charts, as they have had an officer of the Indian Navy employed on that side for seven or eight years; but we are not aware that Bombay profits by their labours. Lieutenant Fell was engaged in surveying there for many years; but with the quality or quantity of his work we are unacquainted.

Returning to our side of India, we remark that surveys are still in progress, and but little remains to perfect the charts of the coast from Kurrachee to Cape Comorin. The grand delay is in their publication at home, one engraver having the work of both the Queen's and Company's Navies. Perhaps charts are nowhere more needed than on the west coast of Hindustan. Surveys of this have been going on for years, by fits and starts; but as each superintendent of the Navy has quitted our shores, or passed to his last home, he has left the Malabar coast a legacy to his successor. Meanwhile several vessels have been wrecked. The lithographed chart for making Bombay harbour, noticed before, represents a portion of coast without soundings from Bancoot river to Boria Pagoda, and the authority is said to be a trigonometrical exa-

minating by Lieutenant J. J. Robinson in 1823; but we can find no notice of his labours in the Records of the Geographical Society, although, in other respects, they have enabled us to throw so much light upon our Indian hydrography.

Of the coast from Bombay northward to Cambay correct charts are in existence. The Malacca banks are said to shift, and the sand banks between Broach and Gogo, extending up to Cambay, which are alternately covered and left uncovered by the tides, have increased southward since the survey by Captain Ethersey in 1837, and may probably be examined some day when a steamer runs aground there; but we fancy that vessels generally take pilots there, or—which is the same—are navigated by lascars from Gogo. The survey of the coasts of Guzerat and Kattywar, of the Gulf of Cutch, and the coast of Sind to Kurrachee and Cape Monze, has, we believe, been extended to the furthest limit seaward that soundings could be obtained, and has brought to light that peculiar “swath-way,” similar to that of the Hooghly, which lies in a south-west direction from the mouth of the Indus. This has a very great depth in its centre. In the old chart by Norie, mentioned before, there is shown a rock in the ocean about 80 miles south-west of Diu Head. The survey of the bank of soundings off Bombay extended to this point, and was met there by that of the Kattywar coast; but we have heard nothing more of it. It is singular that the boatmen of Kurrachee and Cutch have a tradition that one vessel was wrecked on this rock, and that several vessels have there taken soundings. Thus having reached Cape Monze, we close our catalogue of recent and correct surveys.

The coast of Mekran, and the entire sea-board of the Gulf of Persia, are allowed by every one who visits them to be inaccurately depicted on the charts; which, moreover, are most deficient in their accounts of soundings, that most essential guide for the seaman. Shoals and reefs are said to be unnoticed, latitudes and longitudes incorrect; and yet we have lately read an extract from a Report read by the Secretary to the Geographical Society, at the meeting in November 1839, in which there is an allusion to the beautiful surveys of the Gulf of Persia. A casual observer thus proclaims a chart beautiful; but, after the practical man has subjected it to the test of observation, it is weighed in the balance and found wanting. Lieutenant Constable, of the Indian Navy, whose numerous opportunities of testing the charts of the Gulf extended over several years, whose qualifications for the task were equal to those of any officer in the Navy, and who possesses more than ordinary patience, drew up, in an elaborate Report, a statement

of the errors which disfigure the charts of the Persian Gulf. This was, we understand, some three years ago, entrusted for further report to the commander of a steamer belonging to the Indian Navy, bound to that part of the world; and on his return the charts were pronounced sufficient for the purposes of *mercantile navigation*. Thus all further examination into the inaccuracies of the Gulf charts has probably been quashed, until some vessel of the Navy, or perhaps a merchant ship, be lost there. It is evident that the surveys were good, considering that perhaps they were the first undertaken in those parts; but, as time wears on, anxious inquirers easily detect the flaws in their construction. It then appears that the examination was only partial, and not carried on with that accuracy of detail which in such matters is a first essential.

So was it with the land surveys of India anterior to the commencement of the Grand Trigonometrical Survey. But here we must crave the reader's attention for one who was eminently qualified for his task, and evidently had unlimited access to the Records of Government. Captain Jervis, of the Bombay Engineers, in a "Memoir on the origin, progress, and present state of the Survey" in India, drawn up in 1838, which is to be found in the fourth volume of the Transactions of the Geographical Society, enters elaborately into the subject. The entire memoir might well be copied, but we shall content ourselves with extracting presently those parts of it which bear more particularly on the system of imperfect geography, as he styles it; and which throw a light upon maritime surveys.

That portion of our seas from Cape Monze round the shores of the Persian Gulf to Muscat, will soon, it is to be hoped, be re-examined; for at present there is a break in our chain of charts, which would otherwise be complete, as they comprehend the line of navigation from Bombay north-westward to Aden and Babelmandeb, the Red Sea and African coast as far as Ras Hafoon, and also Socotra with its adjacent islets and shoals. There is, however, a gap of unsurveyed coast, about thirty miles, between the Brothers islands (south-west of Babelmandeb) and Ras Bir on the African coast. The Arabian coast, from Muscat to the entrance of the Red Sea and the shores of Africa, and thence to Ras Hafoon, was chiefly surveyed by Lieutenant Griève, and portions by Captains Haines, Sanders, Barker, and Carless; the results of their labours being published in several sheets. The charts of the Arabian coast by Lieutenant Griève must have been sent to England at least six years ago; but en-

graved copies have only within the last half year made their appearance here. This delay has caused that coast to be shuffled by all, until this last south-west monsoon, when advantage was taken of the new charts to try the route from Bombay to Aden along that coast,—an attempt which seems to have been decidedly successful.

From Ras Hafoon southwards, we have only the flying survey of Admiral Owen to Zanzibar, and through the Mozambique Channel. The Maldive islands have been correctly examined; the Laccadives only partially so, and several banks amongst them are said to be not yet laid down in the charts. And here we must again find fault with Walker's chart, which we noticed first, on account of the extremely careless and dangerous omission of the island Kittan and the Byramgore reef, which are even entered upon the lower sheet of Maclure's Malabar coast, and were examined in 1827. And, will it be believed that, although, as was well known, the Laccadive islands and dangers were on former charts placed 18 miles too far east, this chart, corrected to 1855, leaves them as they were? Despite, too, the publication of Lieutenant Grieve's beautiful charts of the coast of Arabia, Walker still shows the coast from Cape Isolate to Mascera island as unexplored; and between Angria's bank and the head of the Laccadives, he gives a mud bank of which we never before heard. Naval officers, too, aver that incorrect positions are assigned to some islands in the north part of the Red Sea.

Having thus done our best, with limited means, to explain our hydrographical knowledge of the Arabian Gulf, we will now show what ports of refuge a vessel may find in the whole extent of seaboard, if she should be overtaken by a hurricane, or hard pressed by an enemy. Galle is a small, but safe harbour. Tuticorin, on the other side of Cape Comorin, affords shelter from westerly winds. Cochin has but little water on its bar, yet vessels of five hundred tons can get out in the south-west monsoon; but they could scarcely venture to run in during a gale. The next port to that, supposed to be capable of affording shelter, as we read in late Madras papers, is Sedasegur; but with this we are as yet imperfectly acquainted. Next we have Murmagao, or the south river of Goa, off the fort of which the Portuguese frigates used formerly to moor during the south-west monsoon, in about four fathoms water. To the eastward of the Vingorla rocks there appears to be good anchorage, where a vessel in distress might ride out a west or south-west gale, for the ocean-swell must be much broken by that long chain of rocks running

north and south. Dewghur, as a last resource to a small vessel, might be taken advantage of, and a chart of it is extant. The next refuge, and the best on the coast, excepting our own fine harbour, is Viziadroog, the "Geriah" of Horsburgh. The bar, on which is three fathoms of water at low tide, is protected in a great measure by the projecting point on which the fort is situated, from the swell of the south-west monsoon; and at that season of the year, as we learn from a chart of the place lately received at Bombay, there is always one or two feet more water in the day time at low tide. Viziadroog has the advantage of a beautiful road called the Phonda ghaut, that meets the left bank of the river about nine miles from its mouth; and we cannot conceive why advantage is not taken of the harbour, especially as its capabilities were mentioned eleven years ago in the seventh volume of the Records of the Geographical Society, by Lieutenant Montriou, who had surveyed it, and who considers in his account the best means of fortifying its entrance. The most short-sighted amongst us cannot fail to be struck with the importance of having several fortified harbours along our western coast, if the projected canal to Suez should be completed. Between Viziadroog and Bombay there is Hubshee's Rajapoor, commonly called Jinjera, from the islet at its entrance, on which is the fort and chief town of the Raja, one of those independent and licentious Native Chiefs who are proud as Lucifer. No large survey of this harbour has been published, but the lithographed chart for making Bombay shows three and four fathoms at its entrance. Horsburgh says there are four or five; McClure's chart says five fathoms, and that there is no bar; in which case it is different from all others along this western coast.

Passing by Bombay, we find no place that affords shelter till we arrive at Gogo, where Perim island, on which is a light-house, forms a breakwater against the south swell; and good anchorage is found in about four or five fathoms at low water. The lift of tide is there very great, and its stream very swift as it passes Perim reef, but not so at the anchorage. However, the Malacca banks are dangerous shoals to approach in rough weather, and we conclude, from the peculiarity of their formation, that they shift year after year. Indiamen lying off Surat were in the habit of running to Gogo in southerly gales. The harbours of Jaffrabad and Diu might afford shelter for small vessels in the south-west monsoon, but are too open during easterly winds. Passing along the Kattywar coast we find no refuge till we arrive at the Gulf of Cutch, where, to the eastward of Baté island, there is excellent

shelter from westerly gales in five or six fathoms of water, with a mud bottom. This is mentioned by Horsburgh. The charts of this Gulf by Lieutenants Taylor and Constable, being, as we understand, now published, and on their way out to India, may be of service to vessels on their voyage to Kurrachee: A knowledge of the entrance to the Gulf of Cutch might, in all human probability, have saved the Steamer "Surat," which must have been near when she foundered in November 1851—most likely in endeavoring to avoid a coast that might have proved a friend in need.

Next comes the harbour of Kurrachee, gaining more importance every day, and likely still to improve under the able and energetic authorities of Sind. Along the Mekran coast several bays are spoken of as offering shelter from different winds, but the locality is little known, and, as we before stated, the charts are incomplete. The beauty and excellence of the charts of the Arabian coast speak for themselves, and doubtless a memoir of its harbours accompanies them. Before concluding our review of the dangers of these seas, we need only mention a shoal called "Sir Robert Oliver's bank," sixty miles north of Socotra, which has been lately announced to the world in a daily newspaper.

No words of ours can have such weight with our readers as those of the Engineer who was chosen, out of many, for the post of Surveyor General of India. Why he left it we know not; but his Report on Surveys, and a subsequent speech on the same subject delivered in England, gave ample promise of great things for India. He advocates for both land and sea one system of surveys, critically minute, as the cheapest plan in the long run, requiring no further examinations such as any partial scheme would demand, except to note changes caused by the retreat or advance of the sea, the increase of river-deltas, &c. But here is the extract:—

"A summary and popular account of the origin, progress, and actual state of the surveys carrying on under the auspices of the Honorable East India Company has doubtless been considered a desideratum by many who are interested in geographical discovery, more especially as the results have recently been brought before the public,* and have naturally suggested some inquiries as to the methods pursued, and the degree of confidence to be placed in what has been thus submitted to its criticism. It would indeed be a dereliction on the part of any one who should enter upon the task of explaining these matters, were he to omit to notice, at the outset, how singularly disinterested and munificent a part this great and influential

* Alluding to the publication of the maps of the Grand Trigonometrical Survey.

public body has taken in undertakings which, whatever may be urged of other schemes, originated in no sordid or selfish policy, and may undeniably be said to have more of a national character than any other to which their attention has been called; nay, further, which, apart from the immediate exigencies of the State, have been pre-eminently calculated to speak to the steady, straightforward, enlightened principles that mark both those that direct, and those that administer the executive government of our Eastern empire. The earliest records of the India House bear abundant testimony to the fact of the constant and lively interest taken by the Direction in the improvement of the charts and navigation of the Indian seas. Repeated instructions were sent out, year after year, to the local Governments, to cause individual talent to be put into requisition by every species of encouragement; log-books, astronomical and written observations, to be procured and sent home; and, where the originals could not be obtained, tracings were directed to be accurately made, and forwarded for compilation and publication. The patronage so wisely extended by our most gracious and excellent Sovereign George the Third, to the improvement of geographical knowledge, was thus, in spirit and in letter, transferred to his people in every quarter of the globe, and the steady support which other navigators and travellers experienced at the hand of royalty, were equally evinced by those who watched over the destinies of India.

We cannot suppose that ulterior instructions were ever issued to discourage the exertions of officers in perfecting our hydrography; but it is a melancholy fact, that since the departure of Sir Charles Malcolm from the shores of India, it has been the fashion to repress individual zeal for the detection and correction of inaccuracies in charts. Such zeal seemed to be considered an offence against the State, as though it was a censure upon the internal administration of Government. Those whose duty it should have been to court a strict investigation into the errors of existing charts, were rather engaged in screening Government from blame or from accusations either of dilatoriness or apathy in the prosecution of their researches. This ill-timed advocacy has done much harm, by keeping the authorities in ignorance of geographical defects, and also of the peculiar attainments and talents of individuals whose fame would have been their fame. Hence have been selected for scientific appointments officers whose antecedents gave no promise of success; and it would have been equally reasonable if our clergy had been sent to command the army, our sailors to preach the Gospel, and our soldiers to navigate ships. In every service will be found men competent to fill its several appointments—men equal to every emergency of science or war; but the present system precludes a familiarity on the part of Government with the attainments of their servants, so that chance or mere patronage carries the day. We do not say the Indian Navy is singular in this, for the same rule holds all over the world.

Captain Jervis informs us, that for the successive improvements made by the English in navigation, we are much indebted to the diligence of persons unconnected with official duties; and Horsburgh, the self-taught cabin-boy, and one of the first hydrographers in the world, is an instance in point. The same writer then recounts the labours of early geographers, prefacing his account with the true remark that the circumnavigation of the globe was too much to be taken on trust. He includes in his notice the very subject we are professing to review, namely, the valuable maritime surveys instituted and carried on by the public spirit and munificence of the Honorable East India Company. We now quote from him :—

“Lieutenant Colonel Kyd, of the Bengal Engineers, Mr. Ritchie, Colonel Colebrook, and Captain Blair, furnished at intervals various astronomical particulars, and written information, respecting the Ganges and Hoogly rivers, as did Lieutenant Wood, Mr. Reuben Burrows, and Mr. Michael Topping, on the coasts of Arracan, the Delta of the Ganges, and the latter on the entire eastern coasts from the embouchure of that river to Cape Comorin. The volume of astronomical observations by Mr. Reuben Burrows, 31st January 1791, may probably contain many well-determined points which have not yet been ascertained, either by Captains Ross, Crawford, or Grant. They are accompanied at least by sketches of the coast, done with much care, and referred to a series of bearings, latitudes, and longitudes, which is to be inferred from the fact, that the entire book is throughout in the handwriting of that skilful mathematician. Mr. Michael Topping's observations on the currents in the Bay of Bengal, of the 1st March 1788, of the 16th January and 26th June 1792, may probably be found of essential importance in future investigations respecting the retreat or advance of the sea on the east coast of India, and the exact registration of the tides. His survey of the mouths of the Godavery river and Coringa roads, 18th September 1790 and 21st January 1791, and his proceedings and report in the Masulipatam Circar, drawn up with a view to ascertain the practicability of applying the waters of the rivers Krishna and Godavery to the fertilisation of the land, and charts, observations, and levels, communicated 26th February 1794 and 2nd October 1795, may yet induce the Madras Government and authorities at home to reconsider that valuable project.

“I have drawn up this summary account of a few of the most remarkable attempts to add to our stores of geographical and hydrographical information before the conquest of Mysore, during which interval the office of Surveyor General had been held successively by Colonels Call, Charles Reynolds, and Colebrooke. I should not omit, however, to notice the valuable maritime surveys of Captains Huddart and McCluer, and Lieutenants Ringrose, Wedgeborough, and Skinner, on the western coast of India, from 1790 to 1793, which still continue to be good authority to navigators of that coast, and” were actually incorporated by Colonel Reynolds in his map. *At the time they were delivered to the Government, an outcry was raised against their accuracy, which subsequent inquiry has shown to be without a shadow of justice: and I may mention it as a corroborative*

Requirements for surveys.

proof of the attention and skill which must have been bestowed on the subject by Captain McCluer, that in carrying on a trigonometrical and topographical survey of the coast upwards, with all the helps and improved methods for which our recent acquisition of the country afforded also greater facilities, I found the actual outlines of the coast and exact distances differ very immaterially from those in McCluer's charts, and I had the more favorable opportunity of verifying the fact, as the Superintendent of Marine furnished me with Captain McCluer's original drafts, on a large scale, for this express purpose."

This discloses the interesting fact, that there are, or were, charts on a large scale, by McCluer, among the records of the Navy. Where are they now? We would only remark that those on the small scale, which include the coast from Diu Head to Cape Comorin, can hardly be the ones to which Captain Jervis alludes; for they are well known to be very incorrect. We may here mention also, that in this Engineer officer's manuscript report of his land survey in the Concan, an incorrect latitude is assigned to many places; and we have been given to understand that, not very lately, an error was discovered in the triangulation, which renders it, as far as correct distances are concerned, nearly useless. He stated before the meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, at Newcastle-on-Tyne, August 26th 1838, that these maps had been retained in India. Probably it was even then known, or suspected, that some error existed in them; but he quoted them to the meeting as models of what was required throughout our Indian empire.

Captain Jervis proceeds to speak of the inaccuracies in route-surveys,—an imperfect system of geography that at one time was the only method adopted in England as well as India. He says:—"The expense of this imperfect geography, from first to last, has been incredibly great; but the reputation of Colonel Reynolds's system, and of his successors in office, stood so high with the Bombay Government, that every suggestion for improved and more conclusive surveys was invariably negatived as superfluous."

The following portion of the same Report cannot fail to interest many of our readers, as it elucidates the origin of the Grand Trigonometrical Survey of India, for which magnificent undertaking we are at once indebted to the wise foresight of the great Duke of Wellington, and the ignorant folly of an Emperor of China:—

"But a new and important era was now opening on this department of knowledge throughout the civilised world. The defectiveness of the best British maps, the revolutionary turn of affairs in France, and an accidental circumstance of the most unlooked-for nature, led, in each of these countries, to the entire remodelling of the respective surveys. The British

Our Maritime Surveys.

Government, having deputed Lord Macartney on an embassy to the Emperor of China, charged their Ambassador with various magnificent presents, and, amongst others, some which perhaps even our modern intellectual diplomatists would consider a little out of character—a beautiful zenith sector, and 100 feet steel chain, constructed by Ramsden; a levelling and transit instrument, besides other apparatus of a like costly and scientific description. The Emperor having declined this conciliatory offering, the embassy stopped at Madras on its return homewards, and on coming to a reckoning with Dr. Dinividdie, the astronomer and physician who had accompanied Lord Macartney, the luckless instruments were assigned to him in part payment of his salary. The mathematical abilities and philosophical turn of mind of Colonel Lambton, at that time a Lieutenant in H. M.'s 33rd Regiment, had not escaped the observation of its distinguished commandant, the Honorable Colonel Wellesley.

"Lieutenant Lambton, who was at that time officiating as brigade major to Sir David Baird, having accidentally become acquainted with the circumstance, and confident of his own powers, made interest that these valuable instruments should be rescued from the auctioneer and turned to some national account. The Earl of Mornington, the Governor General, on the final reduction of Mysore in 1799, being then at Madras, concurring with his brother in the advantageous opportunity thus presented for carrying on an extensive survey of the Mysore dominions, further nominated Captain Mackenzie to the topographical details, while the statistics were assigned to Dr. Buchanan.

"Events had thus fortunately concurred to the furtherance of the design proposed by Lieutenant Lambton, and humble as this tribute may appear, it is no less just than due to ascribe the first encouragement of the measurement of the largest meridional arc that has ever yet been undertaken throughout the world, to his Grace the Duke of Wellington. Every one who has experienced the difficulty of maturing any useful project, can better appreciate the patience and foresight which could have led his Grace to recommend Lieutenant Lambton's novel scheme to the Government of India, prepossessed, as it had hitherto always been, in favor of the sufficient accuracy of mere geographical and route surveys. At his Grace's suggestion to Lord Mornington, Mr. Petrie, and Lord Clive, then Governor of Madras, the instruments were purchased on account of Government, and in furtherance of this project, a large theodolite similarly constructed to that used by General Roy, as also an altitude and azimuth circle for secondary triangles, were made in England by Cary, and by the year 1801 all the requisite apparatus was at Lieutenant Lambton's disposal.

"In the year 1800, a plan of the intended operations was submitted to the Government of Fort St. George, and with their sanction published in the seventh volume of the Asiatic Researches. It was here proposed to join the coasts of Malabar and Coromandel by a series of triangles, which might be extended on the south to the extremity of the peninsula, and to an indefinite distance on the north, on a plan similar to that which had lately been adopted in France and England. In the month of October of that year, a base line was measured near Bangalore, and the first experiments were made with the zenith sector at Dodagoontah. In the early part of 1802, a base line was measured near Madras, and in the mean time a new chain had been received from Mr. Ramsden, which he professed to have laid off at the temperature of 50° Fahrenheit from that artist's bar.

Lieutenant Lambton's first operations after this were to carry on a series of triangles depending on the Madras base westwards, to meet the Bangalore base, and finally the west coast near Mangalore.

"A lateral series, connecting Calcutta and Benares with the great meridional arc at Seronj, by Mr. Oliver, and another series from Bombay, by Lieutenant Shortrede, have established the relative positions of the three principal stations in India."

It is evident from this, that the defective longitude on the charts of the west coast of India might have been corrected before the death, in 1823, of Colonel Lambton, to whom their errors must be attributed, if it had not been for that wretched, and now we hope exploded, system of secret policy which held knowledge in fetters of red tape, and left to white ants the life-long labors of industrious men, by which millions might have profited. This must have been due to "the prevailing influence," as Jervis expresses it, "of those who deprecated scientific geography;" and thus, as he adds, the public has been obliged to rest content with "mere itineraries, and ordinary field surveys, executed, and, for the most part, laid down without the slightest pretensions to scientific mathematical projection." We must, however, cavil at the adoption of the word "pretensions" in this place; for it is a fact, that most, if not all, nautical charts, which are mere compass sketches, bear the pretending title of "*trigonometrical surveys*."

This memoir on the surveys of India tends to throw much light on the origin of our charts, or, at least, on the authors' names; and we must give them credit for doing as much as their limited means would allow. Theirs was an entirely new field, untrodden by former inquirers; and their object must have been to gain speedily a slight knowledge of all parts, leaving minuteness of detail to their successors. But Jervis was evidently unacquainted with their shortcomings, when he stated that their charts still continue to be *good authority* for navigators of the western coast; although he might have said with truth, the *best authority*; for we are still without others, although surveys are to this moment being carried on. At the before-mentioned meeting of the British Association, he descanted at length upon our surveys, and their requirements; and his arguments are so good, that we need offer no apology for extracting what bears upon marine matters, and the construction of perfect charts. Begging the reader to keep in mind that he had been appointed, provisionally, Surveyor General of India, and passing over the first portion of the address, which speaks of astronomy and geography as sister-sciences, we would draw attention to the following words:—

"I would not be misunderstood, however, by those whom it is now my privilege to address,—by some at least who may possibly have got their ideas of geography from the miserable publication.* Most puerile compilations, indeed, are the very best we have, although professing to treat fully of this subject. I would not have it supposed, that mathematical geography is a mere confused aggregation of conceits, and hypotheses, and diagrams, tumbled together, of outlines of countries projected without any regard to geometrical construction, to systematic orthography, to object, scale, or taste, as too many of our maps and charts are; nor coarsely, and carelessly scored with wavy zigzags, to indicate rivers, and certain ruder scratches, the universal representative of mountains or rocks, although differing essentially from each other in height, character, composition, and stratification.

"The most experienced of my scientific friends, whom I now see around me, will agree with me, that geography is at least a progressive science, and, in this respect, also, like astronomy, is continually improved, rectified, and illustrated, by more exact observation, and by further physical discoveries.

"To our fixed observatories, indeed, both seaman and hydrographer refer their astronomical and chronometrical observations; while the conformation and height of the cliffs and mountains skirting the ocean are recognised as the most unequivocal indications of the part submerged; of the bed of that ocean on which he is to cast his anchor; to coast, as inviting his peculiar craft, or to shun, as otherwise dangerous of access.

"Every nautical observation possesses an interest, so far only as it is connected with *terra firma*, the proper abode of man; at the same time, the medium by which a more extensive intercourse is facilitated between the remotest parts of the globe, furnishes a conclusive argument of the intimate connection between geography and astronomy, since this last is the science which mutually determines the boundaries of land and water. And, indeed, whatever qualifies or affects those great laws of temperature—of the winds, of the tides, and currents of the ocean—is attributable to the quantity, to the form, and to the elevation of the land, with respect to the fluid by which it is surrounded, joined to its situation in respect of the equatorial and polar regions; for all these would otherwise be extremely simple, and uniformly explicable, admitting that the outlines, elevation, and proportion of the land had been otherwise than it is now."

Speaking of the Grand Survey, he continues:—

"This useful and laborious work has been carried on from that time, 1800, to the present, by Colonel Lambton and Colonel Everest. The former died on his post, 1823, at Hingungaon, at the advanced age of 73, his energies carrying him through to the very last, an example of that philosophic devotion which unites patience and energy with a high degree of intellectual ability. I may be pardoned for reading to you a short extract which I made from the last report he ever wrote. It is touchingly expressive:—'It is now upwards of twenty years since I commenced the survey on this great scale. These years, I may venture to say, have been devoted with unremitting zeal to the cause of science; and if the learned world be satisfied that I have been successful in promoting its interests, that will constitute my greatest reward. In this long period of time—a considerable portion of the life of man—I have scarcely experienced a heavy hour; such is the case when the human mind is absorbed in pursuits that

* It is thus in the original, but evidently there is an omission.

call its powers into action :—a man so engaged, his time passes on insensibly, and if his efforts are successful, his reward is great, and retrospect of his labors will afford him an endless gratification. If such should be my lot, I shall close my career with heartfelt satisfaction, and look back with unceasing delight to the years I have passed in India.”

After paying this tribute to Colonel Lambton, he goes on to show how useful it would be to have fixed observatories along the shores of India, as starting-points for the determination of meridian distances. With regard to the changes caused along our shores by the encroachment or recession of the sea, it is much to be regretted that more faith cannot be placed in old surveys. If the principles on which they were conducted could be ascertained by a search amongst the records of Government, they would go far towards vouching for their accuracy ; and so, with the aid of theoretical deductions, would enable us to throw some light upon the action of the ocean, currents, and winds upon our sea-board. But false data will only beget false reasoning and erroneous inferences, which our successors will easily scatter to the winds, when the present more enlightened system of geographical and hydrographical researches shall have, in comparison with later examinations, demonstrated what changes have really occurred. The truth of the following reasoning and remarks will atone for the length of the extract :—

“ Two series of triangles diverge laterally from the main trunk connecting Bombay and Calcutta, added to which, about three-fourths of the peninsula, and several collateral series, on as many distinct meridians, throughout the lower provinces of Bengal, have placed the exact site of many considerable towns in British India beyond a doubt.

“ The connection thus established between the observatories at the principal seats of Government, the chief resort also of our Navy, supplies a most important desideratum in geography, which will no doubt, under judicious provisions, contribute very materially to the correct determination of the latitude and longitude of many other ports and dangers on the shores of Asia. More, in fact, is to be gained in hydrography, as I have already hinted, by establishing the true place and bearing of a few fixed observatories on *terra firma*, simply as starting-points, than from a thousand unconnected or disputed points of departure. For this reason, we cannot contend too urgently for the repeated verification of these positions : they serve, as it were, for a basement on which to rest the entire superstructure of nautical and geographical surveys ; they constitute, in fine, a sort of half-way house between the earth and heavens, to which any phenomena may be referred, or by which any changes, either in the celestial worlds or this planet, can be satisfactorily registered, and ultimately determined.

“ The maritime surveys which have been made by the East India Company’s naval officers, are honorable to the spirit of that great public body, at whose desire they were instituted. A series of charts of the entire coast

of China, by my friend Captain Daniel Ross, Indian Navy, and others illustrating the ports, rivers, and coasts, from Cochín China and throughout the Malayan Archipelago to the confines of India, by Captains Crawford, Robinson, and Ross, are highly useful to the navigators who frequent those seas. A comparatively small expense and exertion would, with such materials, put the Indian Government and the public in possession of the principal geographical features of that long and narrow peninsula which stretches to the south-east of our territories, probably also open out many valuable sources of commerce; by establishing also a friendly interchange of produce, paralyse, or put down those piratical aggressions which preclude the civilisation of the eastern islands. The surveys of the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea, by Captains Maughan, Brucks, Haynes, and other officers of the Indian Navy, have been undertaken at great charge, most opportunely indeed, for the furtherance of steam communication between this country and India.

"The recent surveys of the Maldives and Laccadives, by Captain Moresby, will probably elicit some interesting particulars relative to the formation of those coral reefs which abound in the Indian Ocean. The changes which have taken place within the last century, both in the eastern and western shores of India, lead to the conclusion that many stupendous alterations in the form and depth of the waters on the coast are now in progress, tending to evidence the recession of the ocean on the one hand, and its encroachment on the other. This, in my opinion, is particularly the case in respect of the neighbourhood of Bombay, unquestionably one of the finest harbours in the world. The fact of such change has been made the subject of a warm and most unsatisfactory discussion between the late Admiral Sir R. King and the officers of the Indian Navy. Such inferences, however, will be more speedily arrived at by an examination of the Gulf of Cambay, the increase of the deltas of the Indus, Godavery, Ganges, and Brulmapootra, and the effects consequent on the opening of the Paumbum passage between the island of Ceylon and the main land. In the Bore of the former, to which the public attention has been drawn by a paper of Lieutenant Ethersey, Indian Navy, there is a novel and grand opportunity for deducing the law of waves, which has been handled in so masterly a manner by Mr. Russel and Sir John Robinson.

"In pursuing the multiplicity of researches which thus obtrude themselves in a hydrographical survey like that under consideration, there is ample scope for the most indefatigable and ardent mind,—the variations in the form of the coast, the progress of coralline formation in the Red Sea, the Maldives, and Laccadives,—the quantity of detritus yearly brought down to the sea by the Euphrates, the Indus, the Nerbhudda, Kavery, Krishna, Godavery, Ganges, Brulmapootra, and, lastly, the Irawaddi,—the increase to their deltas,—and the proportionate velocity of their currents to the respective length and fall, with the quantity of detritus held in solution, or deposited from time to time;—such investigations, simply in reference to their respective geological bearing and tributary streams, open out an indefinite field of the very highest interest to science.

"There are the tides of the ocean, moreover, which, apart from the important bearing of their laws on physical astronomy, are most necessary to be well understood for the construction and maintenance of docks and harbours, the preservation of embankments, the deepening of river beds, and, in short, as the best pledge, or criterion, for the undertaking or discontinuance of great and expensive maritime works.

"The construction and delineation of these charts does very great credit to the taste and ability of Captain Houghton, who has been employed in that duty throughout, both in China and Arabia. In regard to several of the maritime surveys, I confess I have learnt with astonishment that there exist few, in some cases, absolutely no written memoirs; that they have either been retained altogether by the officers who conducted the surveys, or deposited in some of the offices in India, to the great detriment of the public interests. The survey of the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf requires very circumstantial explanatory memoirs for navigators, especially in the event of renewed piratical hostilities; but the meagre particulars that are to be gathered from the papers which have been sent home, ill accord with the charges, and the time, that have been devoted to their execution; the highest of the lands skirting the coasts has been unfortunately omitted, and the want of a better mode of expressing the form and character of the ground within sight of the navigable shore, is much to be regretted. But these deficiencies are wholly attributable to the imperfection of this most necessary accompaniment of hydrography, as well as geography. Systematic, consistent, and correct orthography, founded on a studied acquaintance with the proper language of the country, adds very much to the utility of a chart,—the tabulated direction of the winds and currents that are most prevalent,—the isoclinical lines of soundings, also, lead to the recognition of a thousand facts of considerable use. But on these points I have dwelt perhaps at greater length than my naval friends will consider allowable.

"I shall briefly state, therefore, that the investigation of the tides has, at the suggestion of Professor Whewell and myself, been most liberally and effectually taken in hand by the East India Company, and, as it may eventually devolve on me to give effect to their intentions, I engage it shall be in full accordance with these views, and those generally entertained by the British Association."

To find fault with the imperfect geography of what, as we before showed, are considered, and have been styled, the beautiful surveys of the Red Sea and Persian Gulf, is an easy task; more particularly with reference to the latter, in which the height of the lands skirting the sea-board is seldom noted. On this account the physical geographer is led into error, because he must deduce his theories from imperfect data. Witness the plates to that valuable work lately published—Maury's "*Physical Geography of the Ocean*"—where the shores of the north coast of Africa, and entire Red Sea, are delineated, and in the text of the work described as *burning sands*; but, perhaps, we are now wandering from the avowed subject of our article, and must therefore retrace our steps.

A few words should be written about the changes that have occurred in Bombay harbour. The investigation of the tides is a subject that meets with but little attention at the hands of our surveyors. Captain Jervis states it to have been taken in hand by the East India Company, at his and Professor Whewell's suggestions. We have ever and anon read of this scheme in the

daily journals, and the records of the Geographical Society furnish proof that self-registering gauges were obtained from England; but we know of no registrations save those made at Colaba and Aden. We learn that one tide-gauge at a seaport town, falling into the hands of persons who knew neither its use nor value, was left to perish, the box becoming a refuge for pigeons and monkeys, and the clock-work being resolved into its fragmentary elements.

After touching upon such matters, Jervis returns to the grand survey, which he states on authority, had, up to that time, been carried on at a cost of one million four hundred thousand pounds. He then complains of the little attention paid to topography, in which we are immeasurably behind the people of Europe. Repeated injunctions from the Court of Directors alone prevented the system of survey commenced by Lambton from relapsing into the old mode, according to which compass and perambulator were in requisition. Our surveyor pays a just tribute to Major Rennel, whose philosophic views were neither understood nor adopted by his immediate successors, but who was the first and greatest geographer this country ever produced. The memoir that accompanied his map of India is to this day a standard work, an honorable proof of his industry and judgment. It appears that his *original surveys* of the lower provinces of Bengal and Behar, which he made single-handed, were taken home by some of the high authorities in India, and treated as *private* property, till they were accidentally discovered in the collection of a lady of rank, and purchased for one hundred pounds by their lawful owners, the Court of Directors. "This incident," says Captain Jervis, "with others of a similar nature, may serve to show how very little some men understand the use, or the public importance, of such documents. Much knowledge is undoubtedly abstracted, hoarded up, or lost, from the selfish vanity of possessing a rare or unique article, which would be far better communicated to the public. That propensity, however, we confidently hope, has no advocates amongst men of science." What he next states, with regard to the little value of such maps (we include charts) as are accompanied by no memorandum explanatory of the principles on which their construction was conducted, is true to the life. Some people imagine that to call into question their conduct of a survey, is to impugn their capacity, or even their honor. Hear what Jervis says on such points:—

"The want of similar memoirs to that of Rennel--something, at least, explanatory of the principles on which the respective surveys were constructed, has occasioned the greater portion of such documents to be alto-

gether valueless; and, in most cases, to serve rather to perplex than to assist persons accustomed to the critical compilation of such works. I would lay it down, therefore, as a rule, that no survey whatever should be received, or entitled to publication, without such documentary credentials of its authenticity. It is clear, that these were the maxims of D'Anville and Rennel; and it is the first effectual step towards correct and scientific geography. A farther occasion of the backward state of Indian topography was, that want of a system and uniformity, in the style, orthography, and scale of the respective surveys. Each presidency had its own school, and, in many cases, each individual followed his own fancy. So that the materials from which the Atlas is now compiled, differ essentially in all these requisites.

"All officers who have had experiences in these matters in India, and many distinguished persons in the country, concur with me, that every survey which is not the result of science and system, is so much positive sacrifice of time, money, and life,—a prodigal and unjustifiable waste of public property, which needs but to be properly represented to be obviated in all time to come. If the object of a survey were of some temporary nature, or of limited application, such course might suit, in some instances, both the purpose and the public purse; but, when we compute the sums disbursed, and set them against what we have now to show for such outlay, with reference to the general applicability of a good survey, on a sufficiently large scale, accompanied by explanatory memoirs, to the ordinary wants of Government, the case is one of the greatest extravagance and inexpediency. The conclusion I press upon the authorities is, to collect together all the materials that we now have;—to retain those only which are deserving of it;—then to proceed with all the helps we have got from past experience, resolutely ordering all such steps with the strictest regard to economy, so far as it consists with the claims and requisites of science."

Heartily do we endorse this opinion, and call upon the authorities to take measures for ensuring, in all time to come, a system of uniformity as regards style, orthography, and scale;—to collect all charts now used by the maritime public, such as Blackford's and those we have been reviewing, and to let a committee of competent officers examine them, so that their errors may be detected. Should any, when weighed in the balance, be found wanting, let them be kept apart from all good and true ones. An elaborate report upon all should be drawn up—not to be kept secret, but made patent to the public. Secrecy has been the bane of hydrography in India. If the conduct of a survey cannot bear the light of day, the public should know the fact. It is but justice to the individual that praise should be awarded to his labors, if they deserve it; but he must not expect blame to be withheld, where blame is due. Then will talent become known, and the public be qualified to have a voice in the appointment of officers to such situations as require that those who occupy them should have a previous training. Then shall we have "the right man in the right place," and situations of responsibility, requiring men of talent and

energy, will not be held by those who, with no previous knowledge of what is required of them, have been pitchforked into them at a venture; with the vain hope that they will learn all in time. There are certain people who fancy that appointments such as we describe are merely intended as sinecures for "old hands;" but the time has now arrived for putting a stop to such hallucinations.

Jervis complains that the scale adopted is generally not sufficiently large to admit of proper illustration, so that, beyond an acquaintance with the actual bearing and distance of places, and the relative situation of mountain ranges, passes, and rivers, we can infer nothing, and are ignorant whether the land be cultivated, waste, productive, rocky, or covered with forests. This applies to most of our charts, those of the Persian Gulf in particular, where a dotted line, studded on one side with ominous black crosses, denotes that within this, the rocks and shoals, sometimes even islands, have not been accurately ascertained. Sufficient is this, think the projectors of the map, to warn off the frail bark; yet how far from sufficient to her extrication, when once amongst these dangers. However, although the scale is, indeed, too small, much character might be given to the delineation of the shores by a practised hand. It is to the indiscriminate appointment of "*unskilful hands*" to superintend, and the distortion and omission of matter in copies of charts by native subordinates—which the overworked superintendent has not the time, even if he had the head, to examine properly—that we owe the wretched execution of charts at Bombay. An original document (map, plan, or chart,) though it be ever so well done, will, in process of time, be obliterated, or much damaged, in a public office in India, considering it has frequently to pass into hands which take very little account of its real value, or the time, trouble, and cost of its execution. It may very reasonably be expected, that, unless such documents are printed, (and unless they are well and scientifically completed, they are not worthy of it,) the greater part, nay, perhaps all, will shortly disappear; and there will only remain a few copies, which must always be imperfect, inaccurate, and expensive. Copies, the handiwork of Natives, are known to be very much less exact than the originals; and, unless a careful supervision be exercised, errors increase and multiply.

The following extract gives, probably, a clue to the existing deficiency of maps and memoirs of localities known to have been examined. Does it not show us the necessity of having one place alone where all maps, charts, and their attendant memoirs, may

be collated, examined, engraved, or lithographed, and then issued to the public? Why not have them collected in the newly-constituted Department of Public Works, and have an officer of the Navy associated with that body—not merely to open up a sinecure appointment for the Navy, but to preserve uniformity in the method of compilation, and, at the same time, to provide the maritime community with such charts as will meet all their requirements? But of this subject we shall treat further on.

In the records of the Geographical Society appears a notice by Commander Lynch of the River Euphrates, in which frequent reference is made to a map that accompanied it. An application to Government for the document was refused. The reason we know not; but Commander Lynch's remarks are of little use without it. The Society will not object to our asking here if the map can be had now, or whether it has disappeared. The Captain writes pertinently thus:—

“ A work of this sort is public property, and ought to be so well ordered, carried out, and perpetuated, as to be generally available to the community. We have hitherto stopped short, supposing the object fulfilled, when the manuscript drafts are completed, and deposited in the archives of the Government; but it were, indeed, a strange oversight of the value of the art of printing, to hazard the toil of years, and the enormous sums expended in the preparation of such works, upon some one or two copies, subject to a thousand contingencies,—to a fire, a robbery, to individual negligence, malversation, or casualty of any sort. Provided such surveys were generally useful, properly conducted, and accurately engraved, they could not fail of being in some demand—at least, they would be more extensively available to the Government functionaries; and if it were a matter of policy that any should not be published, or put into general circulation, it would be as easy to give effect to such intention, as to forbid copies being illicitly communicated. That is a weak Government, however, which is driven to such expedients. Captain Burnes, whom I instructed in all the preparatory essentials of geography, told me that the Governor General took him aside, before he started on his expedition through Central Asia, and put into his hands Mouraviev's Journal,—the publication, or the very existence of which, no doubt, the Russian Government had studiously interdicted and concealed, as it at once unmasked the designs of that power; little imagining that it had found its way to the chief authority in India, despite of its utmost vigilance. Lord W. Bentinck, also, on his late visit to Paris, was surprised to find suspended, at the *Dépôt de la Guerre*, a very complete map of India, on which was indicated the disposition of the forces, and military posts, corrected to the latest date. Now, it is hardly credible in regard to this document, that it was drawn up from other than ordinary public sources of information, registers, public journals; from materials, in fact, accessible to every one: yet both instances show how little the strictest policy can avail to secrecy: wherefore, it is obviously the better course to be independent of such indifferent securities, when injunctions to the observance of secrecy may be defeated by sinister causes, beyond the reach of authority.

"I will relate an anecdote which was communicated to me on the authority of one of the parties to whom the subject was referred for opinion, of the genuineness of which I entertain no doubt. A foreigner, as it may be supposed in the Russian service, brought to this country, and tendered for sale to the East India Company, a manuscript map and memoir of the interior of Central Asia, not far removed from the British possessions, either constructed, or purporting to have been made, by Klaproth, the celebrated orientalist and traveller, in the pay of Russia. Whether the price demanded was considered too high, that the information was not wanted, was scanty, or, which is most probable of all, that some one about the India House knew more of the real merits of the production than the party tendering it had anticipated, suffice it to say, it was declined for some reason, and thereupon offered at the office of the Secretaries of State, and purchased for the British Government, avowedly as a geographical work of considerable merit, and, in a political view, of great importance. The contents were rigorously examined with other materials, and found to tally in some points with Klaproth's journals, though got up for the purpose of misleading the authorities in this country. Now, what can prove the absurdity of locking up geographical information more than this, when these very Ministers of the Crown,—at least the Secretary of War,—who should best have provided for the protection and integrity of our Indian frontiers, were left at the mercy of foreign information, that might have been easily and better supplied by the professional surveyors in India? At present it must appear matter of surprise, to find that the information, when thus collected by the Surveyor General, is either handed over to a person quite independent of his control, to lithograph—Mr. Tassin in Calcutta, —or is suffered to await the usual chances of destruction, to be as little appreciated as known, in some official repository. We confidently believe this system will have an end, as it forms no part of the policy of the Directors of the East India Company, who have afforded those in search of such documents the most prompt and liberal access."

This extract, bearing upon Russian cunning and duplicity, seems particularly appropriate at the present time, and gives some insight into the origin of Russophobia in our Eastern possessions. We know it is not the policy of the Court of Directors to repress individual zeal, no matter to what end directed; although when dinners are given to Governors General (that to Lord Canning is an instance in point) they keep strict silence regarding their Navy, as if it were a disgrace to them. They allow officers on furlough, sick or otherwise, to devote their time to the study of steam-engineering and gunnery, and even reward them pecuniarily from the public purse for acquiring what self-interest induces others to acquire by their own unaided exertions. In fact, they pay them for attaining a further knowledge of their profession, and thus rendering more certain their future advancement in any particular branch of their service.

When we read of conferences held at Brussels by scientific men of all nations, for the purpose of considering the best means

of furthering scientific research, and adopting a more uniform method—the physical geography of the ocean being not the least important of the subjects discussed—we find no representative of the Indian Navy there, although its opportunities of contributing to science are certainly proportionate to those of the Royal Navy. Nor do we know of any requisition being made to that body for aid in the good cause. Bombay was certainly represented there by one who is an enthusiast in all matters connected with the furtherance of science, but who, being openly opposed to the system and tactics of the head of the Navy, cannot be expected to act harmoniously with him, even where the end is the public good. Maury tells us, that, after the conference, several nations not represented there sent offers of co-operation.

Regarding the selection of officers for scientific surveys, and the various details, Jervis says :—

“That which has to be done, should be done at the least expense, and it will be done at the least expense when all are carried on at one and the same time, by parties competent to undertake them, *without distraction, or liability to be called off to other pursuits*. In all other countries these duties have devolved, as a measure of economy and expediency, on the officers directing the surveys ; such illustrative researches falling in, as a matter of course, with many others of daily professional observation, and considered essential to the descriptive memoirs. Such documents can neither be hoped for, nor attempted, without means, much less can they be expected of persons thus engaged, if taken from the service at large, without the aids of a scientific education.

“If the officers of that professional arm (the corps of engineers), instructed at great charge, and with so much care, be set apart from the rest of the army, and entrusted, where there are no civil engineers, with the design and execution of all civil works,—either they are sufficient in numbers, and competent to such duties, or there should be an addition made to that body, and their competency provided for by better instruction. Practice makes perfect, and I am persuaded there is neither want of intelligence, skill, nor integrity in the corps of engineers of the army of India—considering the *élèves* are selected on the same principle as those of every other army throughout Europe, and, as far as the time allotted to their education will admit of it, have the same opportunities and advantages of acquiring knowledge. It would be better, indeed, if some thought were given by the home authorities to the *further detention and improvement of the younger officers of this useful body*, in civil engineering, including a knowledge of steam apparatus, railroads, &c., geology, surveying, astronomy, and architecture, similar to the system pursued in the *Ecole Polytechnique*, in France, where the junior officers of the Corps de Genie are kept to these studies till they are eminently proficient. Of this school were Carnot, Prony, Lacroix, Legendre, &c.”

The italics are ours, and we would have them observed with reference to the Navy of India. The cause of defects in our maritime surveys, is, that they have been entrusted to officers at random,

whilst those whose capacities for such employment are well known, have been engaged in the transport or mail service. Thus the sons of science become unnaturally estranged from their parent, and their strength, which might have been so usefully employed in her cause, is exhausted by labors that require only ordinary energies, and no talents but those of respectable mediocrity.

The last part of Captain Jervis's report is of such interest, that we feel tempted to trespass on the indulgence of our readers by criticising it at some length. But first we will give the extract:—

“ But there is a part of this work on which I must dwell more at length, — the engraving. It would be useless to have such a survey, if the final engraving were committed to any one unconcerned in its execution, or not deeply pledged to its accuracy. I say deeply pledged, because this is what the officer conducting every survey will be; and I am sure no one else can be so much as he is. Let it be considered for a moment that the persons who conduct the national surveys in Great Britain, Ireland, in France, Italy, Saxony, Russia, Austria, and other countries, are all officers of engineers; or, in the case of hydrography, naval officers: military men, of great experience, bound by the sacred ties of military allegiance to their corps and country. In whose fidelity, I ask, could the Government confide so safely, as that of such individuals? To their safe custody and prudence the documents are entrusted when prepared, as to their scientific acquirements, their zeal, and *esprit de corps*, the first preparation of the materials and the compositions. In every single instance that I have here enumerated, the engraving is also committed as a no less sacred, I will even style it, a far more sacred trust, than any other. They are held responsible for the completion; they vouch for the authenticity of such documents, by affixing the official stamp of their respective Governments, as they pass through the press, and which cannot be effaced or removed without destroying the plans. The effect of such a system is to cheapen the work beyond belief; to permit of alterations and improvements, from time to time, as they may be desirable or necessary, yet they are not less free to the public. It were strange, indeed, if in any requisite that were essential to the management or engraving of the most extensive survey in the world, we only should be found deficient, and I know of no drawback to this, but the preponderating influence of those who either do not see so far as we do into the true interests and wants of India, or who lean to their own, from an apprehension that the delegation of such duties will detract from their own consequence, or in any way operate to their prejudice. For myself, I think it never can, and I find the first artists ridicule the idea that engraving cannot be carried on as well, or even better, in India, than here, when we call to mind that the finest engravings in the world have been produced in Italy, under as bright a sky, and as high a temperature. Whatever may be the intentions of the British Government with respect to the amelioration of India—and it cannot be doubted that they are, on the main, of a liberal and wise nature—no improvements in the construction of roads, canals, embankments, public edifices, in short, anything calculated to draw out and improve the resources of the country, can possibly be undertaken, or even made intelligible, without a very exact survey on a

large scale, nor without the publicity and widest circulation of such survey. A very great progress has been made in the scientific net-work on which to ground such survey; and with the aids placed at my disposal upon the full adoption of the suggestions which I have submitted to the home authorities, and those which have likewise been made by the scientific men in this country, who can have no prejudice or leaning of any sort to any particular individual, system, or object, I believe the topographical survey of British India might be brought to a close in about seven years,—accompanied with very complete and useful illustrative memoirs, for which there are even now a large quantity of materials available. To accomplish this, however, one and all of those experienced persons whom I have consulted, considered the confidence of the Government as indispensable to success, as the entire and sole conduct of the compilation and engraving to the final accuracy.

“I strongly plead, therefore, for the best description of materials we can get,—the best machinery, and the best workmanship. If surveys are undertaken by authority from Government, they should invariably be accompanied by a memoir, explanatory of their construction, and such other descriptive memoirs as the time and the talent of the individuals employed may admit of,—that is, geological, descriptive, and statistical memoirs. I would insist on the parties being fully qualified for such undertakings, and that it should be optional with the Government to publish all the results of their surveys; otherwise I would leave the parties free to publish for their own benefit, at their own charge. I would leave it exclusively with the directors of such undertakings, to recommend the parties for such service, to select their instruments, form their plans, entrusting them with full powers to arrange, as to the orthography, system, expression, scale, engraving, and, in fine, in all other minor details—a course which would ensure, what has been always felt as the greatest desideratum in geography, a uniform and intelligible view of the surface, divisions, physical character, and statistical aspect of countries widely removed, probably in many respects, also, very dissimilar to each other. We should then do for this neglected science what the Royal Geographical Society was especially contemplated to accomplish, a very great and most honorable public service to our own country, and to the world at large.”

Thus concludes the very able speech of the distinguished officer who was appointed, seventeen years ago, to the highest situation of responsibility in the gift of Government. We call it the highest, because the responsibility is lasting, and ceases not with the death of the individual, whose work earns opprobrium or fame from countless generations, according as it has been ill or well performed. It is an imperishable epitaph for the information of posterity, and the world at large. Over such a wide field as the length and breadth of our Indian empire, a succession of travellers are constantly stumbling upon errors which were committed years before, and people begin to wonder whether many more may not be discovered. Earnest searchers after truth soon point them out, and then at once is felled the reputation for accuracy which may have had a growth of years. Does not this

show the need of selecting the best men, and the best materials, instead of making appointments at hap-hazard?

Why should we not have our engravers in India? Of a surety it would pay Government, for they would often be saved the expense of printing useless maps and charts. No want is so much felt here as that of an engraving establishment. Our scientific societies are ashamed of the wretched maps, or plans, they are obliged to resort to when illustrating their contributions to knowledge. Good engravings of our public works, rock-cut temples, our harbours and ships, the different races of India, and their costumes, would go far towards instilling knowledge, and a love of the fine arts, into the minds of its people; and the good which our Photographic Society is now doing would then be more widely disseminated. But we need not dilate further on this subject, as we are confident that our appeal will find an echo in the hearts of all who have chosen this country for their home. All lovers of accuracy will, at least, agree with us, that in one respect an establishment in India for the engraving of charts and maps would improve exactitude of delineation. We allude to the contraction or expansion of paper in the dry or moist season. Suppose, for instance, that the first sheet of a survey has been drafted in January, when the paper is contracted by the dry east winds; the next sheet in July, when it is expanded by the moisture of the atmosphere. The scale of these will never tally: they will not dovetail on to each other, and a screwing process must be resorted to, before both ends will meet. The boards on which the paper is stretched are equally liable to this contraction and expansion, as our doors and windows at the alternate periods of the year testify. The compilation and engraving of maps and plans should be entirely conducted by some one with the engraving establishment under his control. Moreover, this work should be undertaken by Government, and form a branch of the Public Works Department. In the hands of a private company, or of an irresponsible individual, it would not answer so well, as, in that case, public works of great and immediate importance might be thrown aside for private contracts; but still private commissions might be undertaken by the employés, for the remuneration of Government, in their hours of leisure. The features of the landscape, native costumes, the forms of boats peculiar to each different seaport, numerous as they are, would then be introduced properly into our drawings; nor would the boats of Calcutta be seen, as they frequently are now, figuring in Bombay harbour. The eye would no longer be offended by mistakes as absurd as that in the black

marble relievos on the tomb of St Francis Xavier, at Old Goa, where the Saint is seen struggling amongst savages dressed, like North American Indians, in feathered petticoats, instead of the characteristic langooty. But, if engraving cannot be carried on in this country—although Jervis says, that the first Artists ridicule the idea of such impossibility—then we say, let more pains be taken in compilation, or copying, and let an account of the method pursued be rendered as a voucher for its correctness. If lithographs are wanted by the nautical public, as make-shifts, until engraved charts arrive from England, let them be of the best workmanship, on the principle that what is worth doing at all, is worth doing well. Our good taste would not then be shocked by such a perversion of good material, as is exhibited in the compilation and lithography of charts at Bombay.

A new and carefully corrected edition of Horsburgh is much needed, and too much care cannot be devoted to the selection of materials for it, or to the choice of an editor. He should be a man of Major Rennel's stamp, "who understood thoroughly the requirements of geography," as Jervis expresses it. "His was the talent of comparing and collecting, the habit of selection, and a judicious application of such selection to one uniform system, requiring no ordinary share of patient investigation, and deference to truth, to the exclusion of whatever might be either speculative or unknown." In the Indian Navy the ruling powers have surely a wide field for selection; but the system that has ruled so long, of not making public the exertions of individuals to gain for themselves a name, and thus controlling their manly ambition, as if it were feared that subordinates might point out failings which their superiors could not discern,—this system, we say, has precluded the authorities from discovering the intrinsic merits of each and all of their servants.

As our knowledge of the islands north and east of Madagascar is very imperfect, and the position of almost all islands and banks at any distance from our shores is enveloped in doubt, we propose that an expedition for corroboration, correction, and discovery, be sent in charge of a competent officer of the Indian Navy. And let him be ably assisted by another, of equal zeal, who would not be required to discharge the ordinary duties of the vessel, which should have, in addition, her full complement of officers. Let supernumerary midshipmen also be selected from those who show the greatest aptitude and desire for study. The medical officer should be a volunteer, already known as a proficient in the sciences of botany, geology, and natural history, and approved by the

officer in charge of the expedition; so that the requisite harmony and cordiality may be secured. No limitation must be placed upon the number or quality of instruments, and other articles, required by the commander. He should have a dozen chronometers, not the waifs and strays of the Navy that usually fall to the lot of vessels fitted out even for scientific purposes, but mostly new and approved ones, from good makers, some of whom have actually been known to lend chronometers for the voyage to vessels of the Navy built in England, for the sole purpose of proving their worth, and gaining them a name. The surveying ship should be sent to do what Captain Moresby proposed to the meeting of the Geographical Society, in May 1838,—to fix the relative meridian distances of Bombay, and all unknown islands and reefs whose position is not correctly ascertained; to survey the whole of the Seychelles islands, including the group on which the “Saint Abbs” was wrecked. For supplies she would be dependent upon the Mauritius, the Seychelles, Zanzibar, Cochin, or, even Bombay, according to the time of year,—her commander having full power to use his own discretion, as being responsible to Government and the public for the success of the expedition. Our learned societies should then be requested to communicate those points of inquiry to which they wish the attention of the officers drawn, that no subject, however simple or abstruse, may be omitted from the scheme of research; so that on the vessel's return there may be no complaint that the instructions given, or means for carrying them out, were either indistinct or deficient.

What Jervis says about the shortcomings of the grand survey, in the matter of scientific detail, is even more applicable to the maritime surveys executed under our eyes for the last fifteen years. It is his opinion, that that which has to be done will be done at the least expense when all inquiries, topographical, statistical, geological, meteorological, tidal, botanical, &c., are carried on at one and the same time, by parties competent to undertake them, without distraction, or liability to be called off for other pursuits; and that persons will not be found, if officers are “taken from the service at large, without the aid of a scientific education.” This is the plain truth, and it suggests a reflection upon our expeditions of nautical discovery. In some cases, men have been forced to go who preferred, perhaps from a consciousness of their greater fitness, the routine of a war vessel to the conduct of a survey. In others, men, who must have been conscious of their inaptitude, have eagerly sought for, and undertaken such a trust, because the appoint-

ment was pretty well paid. Who was to know their incapacity? Assuredly, no one but their subordinates, who are every-day witnesses of their actions, and must rest content with a quiet chuckle over sayings and doings that a schoolboy even would blush to be the author of. Some, again, who would give worlds to be attached to a scientific survey, cannot be spared for such a work, but are compelled, as we remarked before, to roam about in the uncongenial troop-ship. If any words of ours may be the means of inducing the authorities to seek out, and bring forth from their obscurity, those whose light is now hidden under a bushel, we shall be amply rewarded. That a day is coming when talent will be more appreciated than at present, we know right well; and to accelerate it, is our hearty desire.

Much remains to be done ere we can know perfectly the physical geography of the Indian Ocean. Many opportunities of gaining knowledge have been thrown away, by the indifference or apathy, perhaps ignorance, exhibited in the selection of vessels fitted out for surveys, and their incompleteness both as to *personnel* and *matériel*. With an increase of means in observers and instruments, and at but a trifling additional expense, accurate tidal, meteorological, and geological observations might have been recorded.

It is of no use to lament now that opportunities have slipped by: rather let us look to the means of rectifying our errors. Where do our naval vessels not go? Some traverse the Red Sea, and the shores of the Gulf of Aden; some the Persian Gulf, the shores of Western India, the Bay of Bengal, the Straits of Malacca, and the China Sea. Each ship should be a temple of science; but how is this to be attained? We will attempt to answer the question. Let the physical geography of the land and ocean be one of the sciences taught at Butcher's Island, and let the pupils know that a proficiency in this, if turned to good account, will ensure their advancement—not in rank, for a service in which promotion is regulated by seniority will not admit of this. When provided with a certificate (classed according to proficiency) that they are qualified to pursue investigations in the science we have named, let one be appointed hydrographical engineer to each ship, as is done in the French men-of-war that we have seen at Bombay. It is needless for us to state here what should be his duties, as innumerable books have been written to show what to observe. The Admiralty Manual of Scientific Enquiry, though written by the most eminent men that England could produce, is, on account of its incompleteness and

mediocrity, a standing reproach to them; and it is evident that they grudged the time and talents of some of the contributors to it. Our Geographical Society would speedily furnish a manual of physical research adapted to these seas, and it should be their task to improve our hydrography at the least expense to the State. The Government would supply instruments. The opportunities of vessels on distant stations are known to every one: they are more than half the year idle, actually employed in killing time, and many an hour, now passed in idleness, might be turned to good account, in the noblest of causes. The mind of the physical geographer can never rest. He sees in every cloud, in every wave, in breeze or calm, in hill or plain, in island or shoal, in every increase or decrease of temperature, in the tides of the barometer or the ocean, a means of adding to our knowledge; and where, as in the Persian Gulf and Red Sea, we are in total ignorance of the phenomena of nature, and, as more especially in the former locality, where the charts show so little the true configuration of the shores, what a field lies before the youthful surveyor!

He must be encouraged by his superiors, and not pool-pooled by "old salts," as young India with new-fangled notions that were unknown in Nelson's time, and are not wanted now. The war in the Crimea has led men to canvass freely the merits or demerits of such as are in situations of responsibility, and a paper war may do the same for India. The talents of the Indian Navy must be drawn out from their hiding-place, and ignorance find its proper level. Then will the public better appreciate the neglected arm of the service, and from its officers shall be removed the stigma at present attached to them, namely, that *from them, and them only, can no knowledge of the phenomena of those seas be obtained.*

ART. V.—INAM; AND “WHAT’S IN A NAME?”

1. *Regulations of the Government of Bombay ; XVII. of 1827 ; Chapters I. and IX.*
2. *The Act XI. of 1852, for the Adjudication of Titles to certain Estates claimed to be wholly or partially Rent-free in the Presidency of Bombay.*

ALTHOUGH we have chosen rather a technical subject, we promise to show consideration for the reader by being as brief as possible ; and we trust that, even if we fail to interest the public generally, we shall at least satisfy those *inquirers* who so often have put to us the questions, “What is the meaning of the word Inam? What is this Inam Commission?” We will endeavour to trace the history of the word from the days of Clive down to the rule of our present Governor General, and to offer a few practical observations on the general scope of the two Laws which we have placed at the head of this paper. It was the Act XI. of 1852 which brought the Inam Commission into existence.

Firstly, as to the dictionary meaning of the word. Molesworth’s *Mahratta Dictionary* informs us that “Inam” is a native of Arabia, and that its corresponding term in the English vocabulary is simply “a gift” ; the derived or secondary sense being “a grant” from a king or any other superior. In the meaning of “grant,” the word would necessarily include every species of grant which a granting power could possibly bestow. But it is to grants of the public revenue that our remarks are to be confined. And by public revenue, we may at once state that we intend land revenue only ; for the value of the customs, and the grants on them, bear such an insignificant proportion to the value of the land revenue, and grants on it, that they are hardly worth separate notice in treating of the alienation question as a whole. The grants of the land revenue are made either directly in land, or constructively so—that is, when made in grain and kind, or in cash. By the common law of the country, every acre of land is liable to the payment of assessment to the ruling power *pro bono publico*, and the right to receive that assessment might be transferred to any individual whatsoever, or conferred for the maintenance of any secular or religious office. If to an indivi-

dual, it was perhaps for service alleged to have been rendered, by himself or ancestors, to the superior, or granted out of mere favor, and the freak of the moment; and grants of this kind would probably be free from all conditions. Conditional grants would be those in which civil or military service was enacted by the State direct, or certain duties had to be performed by the office-bearers in a village, for the sake of its inhabitants, in revenue, police, or domestic concerns; also religious grants, which were for the maintenance of worship in the village temples and mosques, or in shrines situated not actually in the village boundaries, with the revenue of which they were, nevertheless, either wholly or partially endowed. In each of the cases named, the granting power parts only with its own right, which, as we have said, is that of receiving assessment; and the grants usually contain, except, perhaps, when waste villages or lands are bestowed, a proviso that the pre-existing rights of occupancy, or otherwise, are on no account to be meddled with or injured by the grantee, who is simply created landlord in the place of the Sircar or granting power. Local usage does not, however, designate all the grantees we have supposed, as Inamdars. On the contrary, particular names denote particular holdings, and at once tell what was the object of the grant. And although Inamdar, in its generic sense of holder of a grant, might be understood as applying to every exempt holding, it is positively incorrect to style the holder, for instance, of a Surinjam, Jageer, Mokassa, Service Wuttun, or the representative of an idol's holding, *simply* Inamdar.* But it does not, *therefore*, follow, that a Surinjamdar, Mokassadar, Wuttundar, or Poojaree, may not also be an Inamdar. What we mean is, that a service and conditional holder cannot, as such, be properly styled an Inamdar.

In the next place, an indirect grant of the public revenue is when anybody is allowed to receive a portion of the produce in kind, as so many maunds or khundees of grain; so many hundred bundles of grass and straw; vegetables and garden products; cordage; matted cocoa-nut leaves; firewood; the produce of the oil-plant, and the like. These would chiefly bear the character of charitable

* *Surinjam*, land allotted in lieu of pay for military service. *Jageer*, literally the place of taking, an assignment to an individual of the Government share of the produce of a portion of personal Jageer land. *Mokassa*, a part, usually three-fourths of a choute, partitioned by the head of the Maharratta empire among his ministers and sirdars, on condition of maintaining troops, of bearing certain expenses, and of paying a certain portion of money to the treasury. *Wuttun*, an inheritance of any description, whether of lands, fees, office, or other right.—*Wilson's Glossary*.

donations. Under our Government, most of the grants from such sources have been abolished, together with the source of revenue. But the official remuneration of the village staff, as well as of the hereditary district officers, is also partly made up of perquisites in kind. The grantee in these cases collects his dues from the cultivators direct, and, we might perhaps add, tries to snatch as much more than his share as he can. Lastly, the grant in cash is the land revenue collected by the officers of the Government, at the public expense, into the local treasuries, and then paid away by the head of the village, or of the district, or of the province. These cash payments consist of fees to officials for service to the village, or to the State, according to either a fixed or fluctuating rate on the land revenue; of payments for religious festivals, and amusements, and village expenses of all kinds; and of allowances to individuals and hereditary idlers. It is this last class of charges, which, as a general rule, everybody must grudge as quite needless. The Wurshasundar, as he is called, has not the luxury, as it would be to some, nor the trouble, as others would find it, of intercepting the cash on its way from the turban of the Government tenant to the hands of the village officers; but he comes on his periodical tours, and, according as the amount is large or small, so is he entitled to receive his rupees, in monthly or annual instalments, from the local treasuries. He yields no public return, and is not like the public pensioner, who is respected and looked up to for having done something in his day which has earned him his reward. This closes our slight sketch of the kinds of grants made on the public revenue; and although, as we have before said, the word Inam, in its literal and generic sense of "gift," or "grant," must embrace every kind of grant, it has a "local habitation" itself as a land tenure, which the revenue officer soon learns to appreciate, and which guards him from calling a Wurshasundar, or any cash and grain holder, an Inamdar. Each of the kinds of cash and grain allowances has its peculiar local denomination, which describes what it is; and we need not again allude to them in this paper, but will at once proceed with the history of our little word Inam, and let the reader judge for himself whether our idea of its tenure is correct or not.

It was not until the year 1759 that the word began to dawn on Clive's mind as a reality, and not a mere empty sign. He now perceived with what ingenuity and forecast his diplomatic opponent had extended the boundaries of the French East India Company's possessions, by obtaining grants of large

tracts of country from the Delhi Emperor, known to us as the Great Mogul. Dupleix was less a soldier than skillful diplomatist, by his success in which capacity at the Court of Delhi he had raised the French character to a great height in native estimation. The French had become *luandars* on an extensive scale. Arcot had been fought a few years before, and their power had since then been everywhere on the decline, but they still had hold of a number of districts in *Inam*, in the Carnatic. To snap this last thread, Clive sent off Colonel Ford to the Nizam at Hyderabad, with power to make certain "requests," which, after a little negotiation, the Nizam assenting to, it was agreed in the words of the treaty of the 14th May 1759, that "the whole of the Sirkar of Muslipatam, with eight districts, as well as the Sirkar of Nizampatam, and the districts of Condairir and Wacolmonner, shall be given to the English Company, as an *Inam* (or free gift), and the *Sunnuds* granted to them in the same manner as was done to the French." (Bombay Treaties, page 362.) The Nizam further promised to help the French out of his country "within fifteen days," and never to let them have a settlement in it again. The enemies of each of the contracting parties were to be the enemies of both; but neither seemed to have any friends—certainly not the English, as no provision was made for them, although some is usually made in treaties. The Nizam set his hand to this treaty, swearing "by God and his Prophet, and upon the Holy Alkoran," that he, with pleasure, agreed "to the request specified in this paper," and should not "deviate from it even a hair's breadth."

It would, perhaps, be as well—in order to account for the fact of Clive negotiating sometimes with the Nizam direct, as an independent sovereign, and sometimes with the Great Mogul, in matters affecting the Nizam's interests, as we shall show he did—to mention who the Nizam originally was, and how he acquired his name and territorial power. Inquiries into the origin of the Governments of those days will assist us in coming to a right conclusion as to the received value of the word *Inam*, and kindred terms, among the Mahratta people. The founder of the family was Nizam-ool-moolk, an astute nobleman and courtier at Delhi, whom the Emperor nominated to represent His Majesty's affairs in all the country south of the river Nurbuddah, the natural boundary line between Hindustan Proper and the Deccan. He accordingly started with his credentials to Hyderabad, and was duly acknowledged as the Governor of those parts. Being well versed in the history of past transactions, and fully awake to

the nervous signs of the times, it was not long before he gained a victory over the Imperial troops, and sent, with a congratulatory letter to his royal master of Delhi, "the head of the viceroy appointed to supersede him, as the head of a traitor!" From that day dates the Government of Hyderabad in the Deccan. As we shall have to speak also of the great Hyder Ali of Mysore, and his son Tippoo, we may mention in contrast with the noble origin of the Nizam, that Hyder's father was a belted revenue peon, or, more likely in those days, the sword and shield were the badges of persuasion in collecting the revenue instalments. He started in life as a groom and private horseman; but, by nature born a general, he early rose to be commander of a numerous body of both horse and foot. He succeeded in obtaining large assignments of territory for their support, began to attack and seize the possessions of the small Chiefs in his neighbourhood, and was acquiring a degree of political importance which excited the jealousy and hatred of his hitherto ally and friend, the minister of the Mysore Raja, so that Hyder's onward progress was for a season checked; but his acquaintance with European tactics, which his early training had given him an opportunity to learn, soon coming into play, he made a bold dash at the seat of Government itself, and succeeded in deposing the Raja. Known afterwards in annals as the Tiger of Mysore, he left behind him a right royal cub, Tippoo, to maintain and extend his conquests.

In 1765, after obtaining, from the Great Mogul a grant in perpetuity of the provinces of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa, Clive, or whoever represented him during his absence in England, went also straight up to the Mogul for a similar grant of five districts belonging to the Nizam, commonly called the Northern Circars. Accordingly, "the exalted and illustrious Emperor of Hindustan, Shah Alum Padshah, having out of his gracious favor, and in consideration of the attachment and services of the English East India Company, given and granted to them, for ever, by way of Inam or free gift, the five Sirkars (known as the Northern Circars) by his royal firman, (that is, charter,) dated the 12th August 1765," the English proceeded to occupation, and were quite prepared to enforce the grant, for the Nizam had shortly before most ominously refused to rent these districts to the Company. As was to be expected, the Nizam did not admire this off-hand procedure, being treated one year as a substantial sovereign, another as still the lawful deputy of the Delhi king; and, though he felt that it was his privilege to encroach on the royal domains, and usurp sovereign

rights, it did not follow that others were to behave towards his august self in the same fashion. However, he signed the treaty of 12th November 1766, and issued the usual subsidiary instructions to the district officers, to the effect that "agreeable to the petition of the English" he had "given them the districts," by way of Inam or free gift, "for ever and ever," and that they were to "look upon this as a positive order, and obey it accordingly." But the treaty of 26th February 1768 informs us that somehow a misunderstanding arose on the subject of the former treaty, which "perverted the intent of the said treaty, and kindled up the flames of war." In other words, the exasperated Nizam armed himself, and called in the aid of Hyder, when they pitted their united strength, in 1767, against the English, and signally failed at Coverypatam. The Nizam was now brought to terms, and, after consenting to obey the Emperor's mandate for the delivery to the English of the Northern Circars, he, according to the genuine practice of a Native Indian Prince, forthwith turned against his whilom ally, and, in language implying a constitutional title to the sovereignty of Hyderabad—which the English now again, according to the policy of the hour, either permitted him or forced him to use,—denounced the luckless Hyder as a rebel and invader, and revoked from him all the grants made by himself, or any of his predecessors in the Government of Hyderabad! We must give the 9th Article in full:—

"Hyder Naik having for some years past usurped the government of the Mysore country, and given great disturbance to his neighbours by attacking and taking from many of them their possessions, and having also lately invaded and laid waste, with fire and sword, the possessions of the English Company and the Nawab Wala Jah, in the Carnatic, it is certainly necessary for their pence, and for the general benefit of all the neighbouring powers, that the said Naik should be punished and reduced, so that he may not hereafter have the power to give any person further trouble; to this end the Nawab Asif Jah hereby declares, and makes known to all the world, that he regards the said Naik as a rebel and usurper, and, as such, divests him of, and revokes from him, all sunnuds, honors, and distinctions conferred by himself, or any other Soobah of the Deccan, because the said Naik has deceived the Nawab Asif Jah, broken his agreement, and rendered himself unworthy of all further countenance and favors."*

Peace was, however, concluded with Hyder under the treaty of Madras, dated the 3rd April 1769, which nullified the effects of this bombastic Article. But Hyder, nevertheless, persisted in his enmity towards the English, and when the ill-starred convention of Wurgaon, in January 1779, revealed to all the native

* Bombay Treaties, p. 373.

powers in India, honest John Bull's touching confession to the Mahratta Regency, that "we both parties did fight in which we were defeated, returned back, and encamped at Wurgaon,"* the three principal powers of the South—Hyder, the Mahrattas, and our volatile ally, the Nizam—forthwith confederated to expel the foreigners who had been making such rapid strides towards general dominion. The threatened evils of this alarming combination were, however, fortuitously averted, and Hyder, and, after him, Tippoo, for the next twelve years, carried on desolating wars with the English, the Nizam, and Mahrattas. This brought about the triple alliance of 1790, which resulted in the treaty of peace with the common foe, Tippoo, dated 17th March 1792, according to the provisions of which he was forced to disgorge one half of the enormous acquisitions made by Hyder and himself. We beg the reader to remark that this was a "definite treaty of perpetual friendship," which Tippoo agreed should be binding on him, his heirs, and successors, "as long as the sun and moon endure."† But Tippoo, alas! was, like Hyder, as "prodigal of faith" as of blood; and the "partition treaty of Mysore, dated 22nd June 1799," declares of him that, "unprovoked by any act of aggression on the part of the allies," he "entered into an offensive and defensive alliance with the French, and admitted a French force into his army, for the purpose of commencing war" against the English and their allies, who accordingly, arming in turn, "proceeded to hostilities, in vindication of their rights, and for the preservation of their respective dominions from the perils of foreign invasion, and from the ravages of a cruel and relentless enemy." Seringapatam fell—Tippoo was among the slain; and so passed away a dynasty more dreaded by the English and by every native power within its reach, than any which has ever before or since had supremacy.

We hardly require to pause and ask ourselves what must have been the popular acceptation among the subjects of Native States, in those days of anarchy and misrule, of the word *Inam*, and like terms, dependent for their very existence on a ruler maintaining a close adherence to his promise. As with treaties, so with *sunnuds* and minor grants, the foundation on which both rested was that of reciprocal good faith. We will take a rapid survey of a few more notable instances, and will then descend in the scale to illustrate the struggles for power of the smaller chiefs and adventurers in the country, who imitated them in playing at

* Bombay Treaties, p. 501.

† *Ib.* p. 807.

royalty. The Peshwa is an accountant with a field force. Anon we see him prime minister to the Raja of Satara. He usurps in 1751, like the Mayors of the Palace did in France, the supreme power, and is fully acknowledged by all the Mahratta Chiefs as legitimate head of the nation. Sindia was a Patel of Kinherkher, in the Satara Province. Holkar was a goat-herd, and weaver of coarse blankets, in the village of Hol, situate in the same province. Doing duty first as horsemen, under some known leader, these intrepid followers soon forced themselves into notice, and were fortunate enough to get shares of the cessions made to the Mahrattas in Malwa, north of the Nurbuddah. They then come to be recognised as Governors of independent states. The Bhonslas of Nag-poor or Berar were Patels of Deoor, on the road between Poona and Satara, within the latter jurisdiction, and of Hingan Berdec, near Poona. As the Peshwa served his royal master of Satara, so Sindia treated his nominal lord, the Peshwa, and between 1794 and 1801, was the virtual ruler of all the Mahratta captains. In the last-mentioned year came Holkar's turn. He defeated Sindia in a pitched battle at Poona, drove the Peshwa from the seat of Government, and was for a season monarch of all he surveyed. The English restored the Peshwa and Sindia ; the Berar Raja and Holkar were successively reduced to obedience. During their sway, however, they had of course assumed full sovereign powers. In like manner, no sooner had Tippoo disappeared from the face of the earth, than up started Dhoondia Waug. Gaining help sometimes from the Kolhapoor Raja, sometimes from Sindia, he puts on a bold front, collects around him the disaffected and discontented in the country, lays whole districts under contribution, and, assuming the presumptuous title of "king of the two worlds," is really becoming a most formidable enemy. It took a campaign of no less than five months, under the conduct of Colonel Arthur Wellesley, in 1800, to allay the feelings of public alarm which Dhoondia's wide-spreading fame had caused. We next see Sindia's officers snatching whole districts from the Putwurdhans, friends of the English, and threatening the ramparts of Kolhapoor. The predatory Dessaees, or hereditary district officers, men of the calibre that Hyder found such difficulty in subduing¹ when first raising himself from obscurity to distinction,—who fortified their strongholds, nominally to protect their districts, but in reality as the means of laying others waste, as Lieutenant P. M. Melvill states of the Vecrungaon Dessae,* "sometimes ravaging, and

* No. X. Selections from Government Records.

sometimes protecting the surrounding country;"—these men swell themselves into importance by styling themselves "Sawusthaniks." The holders of the forts of Ramdoorg and Nurgoon, bound by their tenure to serve the Peshwa with quotas of three or four hundred horse, and to pay tribute into the bargain, when the Peshwa could enforce his demand, rejoice in taking the same name. A Ramoosee robber, the Naik of Shorapoor, retires from his plunder, and, in a racy humour, dubs his possessions by this favorite and complimentary title. The word Sawusthanik might be correctly applied to the holder of a very ancient possession, of the time of the old Rajas of Satara, like the Herekur's Sawusthan, but it has nothing in its tenure to signify that it was held on more favorable terms than any ordinary exempt-tenure in the country. It used, however, to be the name for those places in which holy men, so reputed, dwelt, as Swamees, Sunyassees, Brahmacharyas, &c., who, abandoning all worldly concerns, devoted their time to the contemplation of the Deity—in whom, sometimes, as at Chinchwad, a god was supposed to be incarnate. If this is the reason why lawless freebooters and adventurers took to themselves the name of Sawusthanik, their bravado and insolent caricature may be estimated at its proper worth. In Guzerat a particular class of robber Chiefs, called Rawuls and Grassias, preyed on the village communities, and extorted large exemptions of land, besides other immunities, from the heads of villages and the Government officers, on the nominal conditions, however, that they would themselves refrain from plundering for the future, and be answerable for the sins of the peccant tribes. These instances of the sudden rise of individuals in those days might be multiplied, but it will be sufficient if we close our list with one more familiar fact. "The Carnatic," says Mr. Elphinstone, "was at no distant period overrun with independent Dessacees, or Poligars, but these have all been gradually swallowed up by the Mahrattas, and the Dessace of Kittoor is the only one who still retains his possessions." This Dessace was one of those who was to be re-established under the treaty of 1790, should the three allies succeed in recovering the territory which Tippoo had usurped from them. The Kittoorkur had originally set himself up by fighting and robbing, like his neighbours, with Beruds, Katuls, and Shetsundees, and in 1810 had turned tolerably respectable, as a farmer, under the Peshwa, of a large portion of country. He died during the Mahratta war, but having been useful to Sir Thomas Munro in the subjugation of the Southern Mahratta Country, his son was raised to the dignity

of a tributary chieftain of the British Government. Six years later, in 1824, an insurrection broke out, in which Thackeray and other British officers were killed, and the Kittoor territory was now permanently annexed. The Company's Dessae, of course, made grants like a Peshwa's Dessae would have done, but as the taint of treason passed over all his acts, the British Government do not consider themselves bound to respect the grants made by him between 1818 and 1824.

Our object in citing these examples has been to show, that from such potentates as these originated many of the unauthorised grants of public revenue which are to be met with throughout the Presidency. To confer grants of land and pensions, was, of all other rights of sovereignty, *the* privilege which the new ruler, big or little, jealously exercised, and by which he knew he could best make the arm of his authority felt, as well as retain that authority for any length of time. To point to the land as the means of supporting his troops, to make a written assurance to the military leader that for so "long as the sun and moon endure" should that written pledge be binding on himself and successors, was only to act in accordance with the practice of the "high contracting powers" between whom treaties were ratified—and broken by the native power—over and over again. The Sunnuds had words introduced into them of precisely the same force as in treaties:—"for ever;" "while time endures, and while the world exists;" the grant was to be obligatory on both parties, "race after race," and so on. A warning was sometimes added for the benefit of the succeeding ruler, and he was told that it was a more meritorious act to *continue* a grant, than to *originate* one himself. This would be quoted from some Sanskrit Slokh, like the Persian treaties quoted a verse from the Koran, "Praise be to God, who has said, perform your covenant, for the performance of your covenant shall be enquired into hereafter." On the other hand, an imprecation would be cast on the head of any successor who dared to disturb the grantee in his possession. He was to become a worm for ten thousand years, in one of the various hells of a Hindu; or he was stigmatized as one guilty of the five capital offences! It would not matter whether the village or land were in possession at the time of grant. If the invader had been just expelled, and another had taken his place, this altered ownership was no flaw to his grant in the invader's own eyes. Thus Hyder purchased from Busalut Jung the sovereignty of Sera, long after the latter had lost possession; thus the grants by the Nepaneekur in Sholapoor, and some by the Kolapoor Raja; and we have seen some drawn

the people, are of course those which issued from the head of the Government, as the ancient Raja of Satara, his "alter ego" the Prutteeniddhee, and the Peshwa. High local functionaries as "Sir Soobedars" used to be specially vested with this imperial power, and any local officer might, in like manner, be entrusted with it, by permission, to use what was called the "Mootalikee" seal, or seal of the deputy. Thus Purushram Bhow Putwurdhun, of some of whose grants we have spoken as unauthorised, was at a later period empowered by the Peshwa to use the "Mootalikee" seal within a certain range of territory. For so long as that power was not revoked, he was at liberty to make new grants, and to supply the defects of his originally invalid ones, as "Surinjamdar," provided that he did not step beyond his jurisdiction. The Gaekwar, during the period that he held in farm certain of the Peshwa's districts in Guzerat, apparently had similar powers given to him as "Sir Soobedar." Sindia, and Holkar, and their officers holding their "Mootalikee" seals; also the Nawabs of Surat and Broach, were each held to be authorities competent to alineate in perpetuity the public revenues within the limits of their respective possessions in the Deccan and Guzerat. But, so far from even these high officials using the very important authority reposed in them with honesty and good faith, they, on the contrary, grossly abused the trust, and in the Southern Mahratta Country, says Sir Thomas Munro, openly sold their favors. "Many Inams will be found, on examination, to have been given clandestinely by revenue officers, without authority. Every one, from the Curnum of the village to the Sur Soobha of the Carnatic, grants both lands and pensions. The Sur Soobha, or his deputy, when he is about to quit his office, fabricates a number of Inam Sunnuds; he gives away some, and sells the rest. The new Sur Soobha resumes some, but continues a part of them. When such Inams have not, by long possession, become in some degree the fair property of the possessors, they ought to be resumed." (Letter to Mr. Elphinstone, dated 28th August, 1818.) And he had previously written (letter to Mr. Elphinstone, dated 8th March, 1818) on the subject of charitable and religious grants in these districts, that "a large portion of them will be found to have arisen from unauthorised grants, and other frauds. The whole should be carefully investigated after peace is restored, and the country settled; and such part of the expenditure as is of modern date, and not duly authorised, should be stopped. This course is followed by the native Governments, at every new succession, and frequently more than once in the same reign."

In Guzerat it was chiefly the minor officials, as patels, or heads of villages, who did what both high and low officials did in the South. The patels arrogated to themselves the power of disposing of the public lands by sale and mortgage. It has been said that they were forced to do this in some parts, as the only way of meeting the exorbitant demands for revenue, which an exacting Government required from them. They, at any rate, exercised this power of disposing of what was not their own, very freely, and of taking it back, and making new arrangements, when it suited their purpose; and so general was the practice, that the people naturally supposed that it was done with the full consent of the ruling power. But what has been the consequence? Patels' grants of land in the forms of sale and mortgage have come to be treated as "tenures recognised by the custom of the country"—a phrase we shall presently explain under the denominations of "Vechanama" and "Geranea" lands. Of course, if the patels sold the land, it would be a gratuitous piece of kindness to give it gratis, or in Inam, and the public interests must have suffered accordingly.

Such fraudulent acts of the Government officials, and the frequent revolutions and changes of masters in the country, must have left their mark on the word Inam, and made the tenure of an Inam to be one thing in name, whilst it was another in practice. We cannot do better in this place than cite the evidence of Indian statesmen who lived forty years ago, saw the representatives of the former state of things, conversed with them, and formed their opinions. We will premise by stating that what they wrote has, as regards this Presidency, been proved, by the unerring evidence of written and authentic manuscripts of the Peshwa's Government, to be literally true; and some day we hope to see the recent researches of able officers in charge of the Poona archives, or registries, made public, in verification of the evidence we are now about to quote. In his Revenue Minute of the 21st September 1815, Lord Moira (the Marquis of Hastings) Governor General of India, wrote on the subject of revenue-free lands:—"Indeed, the scruples which have saved the whole of these lands from indiscriminate resumption, have given cause to admire, as much the simplicity as the extreme good faith of all our actions and proceedings." Sir Charles Metcalfe said in his Minute of the 13th November 1828, that it might be truly affirmed of all holders of hereditary alienations, that they were "drones who do no good in the public hive." "I do not profess," he writes, "that I would have recommended resumption in every case; but we had a clear right to resume all alienations of revenue." And

commenting on a proposition made by Sir John Malcolm, only six months after Mr. Elphinstone left the shores of Bombay, that Nuzerana, or a tax, should be levied on every succession to an hereditary revenue free-estate, he remarked :—

"Sir John Malcolm, indeed, is of opinion, that the imposition would be received as a benefit, and confer confidence and security. Even that, I conceive, is possible; for the very gratuitous indulgence which we have conferred on the holders of hereditary assignments of public revenue, so different from what they were before accustomed to, may not unnaturally have excited an alarm that such a boon cannot be lasting, which the imposition of Nuzzerana on hereditary continuance might tend to allay, as indicating the intention of taking some recompense for the boon, instead of ultimately resuming it altogether."

How confidently, then, did these English gentlemen, Lord Moira, Sir John Malcolm, and Sir Charles Metcalfe (we shall quote Mr. Elphinstone presently), all keenly alive to the sanctity of private landed property at home, refer to the exempt-tenure of India, which was purely native and truly flimsy! The two latter would have had no hesitation to put taxes on succession, which is equivalent to partial resumption; while the first named would have resumed the grants summarily and entirely. (By "resumption" is meant, not ousting from possession, but laying on assessment.) Now see in how much stronger language does the generous-minded Munro, ever cautious of trampling on the rights of individuals, furnish details of what he felt to be the true character of exempt-tenures under native rule, in the Carnatic, Southern Mahratta Country, and the Deccan. We have already quoted some of his words. Let us next go to his Minute of the 15th March 1822, in which he states that "the terms employed in such documents (sanads), 'for ever,' 'from generation to generation,' or, in Hindu grants, 'while the sun and moon endure,' are mere forms of expression, and were never supposed, either by the donor or receiver, to convey the durability which they imply, or any beyond the will of the sovereign."

In his Minute of the 16th January 1823, he wrote still more fully :—

"In this country, under the native Governments, all grants whatever are resumable at pleasure. Official grants are permanent while the office continues, but not always in the same family; grants for religious and charitable purposes to individuals, or bodies of men, though often granted for ever, or while the sun and moon endure, were frequently resumed at short intervals; grants of Jageers, or Inam lands, from favor or affection, or as rewards for services, were scarcely ever perpetual. It was rare that any term was specified, and never one or more lives; but it made usually little difference whether the grant was for no particular period or perpe-

ture. The [altumgha] perpetual grant was as liable to resumption as any common grant containing no specification of time; it was resumed because it was too large, or because the reigning sovereign disliked the adherents of his predecessors, and wished to reward his own at their expense; and for various other causes. There was no rule for the continuance of grants but his pleasure: they might be resumed in two or three years, or they might be continued during two or three or more lives; but when they escaped so long, it was never without a revision and renewal. I believe that the term of their lives is a longer period than grants for services were generally permitted by the native princes to run."

He proceeded:—

"It appears from these facts that, in the Carnatic, altumgha grants [the highest sort of royal grants], so far from being irresumable, have not been so much respected as many of the ordinary Jaghires. The Commissioner of Poonah, in answer to a reference made to him on the subject, has stated that he has not been able to find a single altumgha in the Deccan, and has transmitted a list of 590 Jaghires resumed by the Peshwa's Government within the last 50 years. In the Nizam's dominions, too, the resumption of the Jaghires appears, from the note of his minister, Chundoo Tall, to have been regulated, as in the Carnatic, by the will of the prince."

And added:—

"There are no persons to whom Jaghires have been continued without some change or modification. It can easily be shown that princes resumed altumghas at pleasure. It cannot be shown that when they were disposed to resume, the act of resumption ever was or could be prevented. It may be said that they were despots, and acted unjustly. Had they seized private property, they would have been regarded as unjust by the country; but no injustice was attached to the seizure of an altumgha, as the people knew that it was a grant of public revenue. The princes were, it is true, despotic, but they were liberal, and even profuse, in their grants, and the grants themselves grew out of their very despotism; for it was because they found no difficulty in resuming, that they made none in granting."

And in his first quoted Minute he brought in a letter from Walajah, the Nawab of the Carnatic,* to the Government of Madras, dated 18th October 1790, on the subject of Jageer grants:—"I am Prince of the Carnatic, and for these 40 years I have granted, resumed, and altered Jageers, in such manners as I have thought proper." We particularly call attention to Sir Thomas Munro's pointed inference, that grants of the public revenue were not regarded by the people in the light of private property. We ourselves are inclined to the belief that property under native rule was, under whatever name, a very volatile blessing. When the owner could not bury, or otherwise put it out of sight, it was either destroyed by ruthless invaders, or the sheep and oxen were carried off in cattle-lifting raids. Every-

thing passed away, but the earth could not pass away, and to it almost entirely the rulers had to look for the means of government. If we keep this constantly in mind, that besides the land revenue there was scarcely any other which contributed to the resources of the State,—there being little or no excise, or customs, as in England,—we shall better understand the difference between the English and native Indian revenue-free tenures, and appreciate the remarks of the aforesaid statesmen.

We are now approaching to particulars. What did the law of the Presidency declare the Inam tenure to be? Our readers must be aware that it was the Honorable Mountstuart Elphinstone, under whose auspices the Regulation bearing upon the subject of revenue-free tenures was hammered out. It is numbered No. XVII. of 1827. But, before coming to it, we cannot resist offering a definition of our little word by an eminent authority in another part of India :—

"I should greatly doubt whether any decided conclusion, in regard to the permanency of the grants, can be drawn from the use of the term *Inam*, which must of course be interpreted with reference to the context, and to the general tenor of the deed in which it is used. *Inam*, indeed, signifies a gift ; but it is not, therefore, necessary that the gift should be unconditional. Even without referring to the peculiar phraseology ordinarily used in the address of a superior to an inferior, the meaning of the term seems to be nothing more than that the grant is made out of the free motion of the granter."

This is precisely the kind of definition we should have expected from the originator of the Revenue Settlement of the North-West Provinces. It is to be found in Mr. Holt Mackenzie's Paper on the Canoongoes, or district accountants of Bengal, dated 2nd January 1822, written when he was Secretary to the Government. It suggests that, however correct dictionary interpretations may be, they are not always to be relied on. To an Englishman's mind, there is a very full-meaning sound about the monosyllable "gift"; it calls to mind the gift of a prize at school, a birthday gift, the gift of a daughter, and there is a feeling of good faith in the very soul of the word. We know we have got the thing given, to have and to hold, and to do with as we like; it has literally merged into the receiver. What a sense of permanency and lastingness is there not about it! But for the revenue officer there is a caution about Holt Mackenzie's definition, to this effect:—"Do not rely too much on dictionary meanings. The word *Inam* is an exotic in this country; whatever may have been the value set on it, in its own soil, it has here acquired a modified, if

not a new sense: ascertain what that is, according to local usage, and as shown by the evidence recorded in the archives* of the Mahratta Government. Without these precautions, you are not likely to do justice to Government, as well as to the holder."

How, then, did Mr. Elphinstone's Regulation handle the Inam tenure? Did he regard it as private property in its fullest sense—that is, as a perpetual and lasting grant of the public revenue? Perhaps it will be better to quote, first of all, his general opinion as the historian of India, in which character his remarks necessarily apply to all India, and then see how that had been expressed by him as Governor of the Bombay Presidency.

His History came out in 1843. Speaking of lands held free of service, he writes* :—

"Other alienations are to temples or religious persons, or to mortuaries servants, or to favorites. Though very numerous, they are generally of small extent,—often single villages, sometimes only partial assignments on the Government share of a village; but in some cases also, especially religious grants, they form very large estates. Religious grants are always in perpetuity, and are seldom interfered with. A large proportion of the grants to individuals are also in perpetuity, and are regarded as among the most secure forms of private property."

The italics are ours; but the gist of the remark is to be found in the qualifying clause :—

"But the gradual increase of such instances of liberality, combined with the frequency of forged deeds of gift, sometimes induces the ruler to resume the grants of his predecessors, and more frequently to burthen them with heavy taxes."

Now, the next sentence shows what the people think of such entire, or partial resumption, and we must remember that upon *their* verdict we are able to pronounce whether Inam was ever considered full *private* property in India, or only partly *private* and partly *public* :—"When these"—that is, the heavy taxes—"are laid on transfers, or even by succession, *they are not thought unjust.*" [Our italics.] In other words, when the terms of the grant are only partially infringed, by cutting off a part only of the rights incident to the exemption, it is not thought unjust! "But total resumption, or the permanence of a fixed rate, is regarded as oppressive." And the historian finishes by saying that this reaction—i. e. of making Inams contribute to the resources of Government—must have begun long ago, "for the ancient inscriptions often contain imprecations on any of the descendants of the granter who shall resume his gift." The whole sentence comes in the

* Page 149, vol. i.

chapter in which the comparison is drawn between Government, as laid down by the laws of Manu, and Government as administered by the modern Hindus. This language appears to us very clear, and it is only the echo of Mr. Elphinstone's own acts, as we shall see by referring at once to the Regulation XVII. of 1827.

In the second Section of that Regulation, the fundamental law of the land revenue of the Presidency is declared,—that all land is liable to pay assessment, according to its kind ; but that, if a title to exemption from that payment can be set up, under certain rules, it shall be respected, with one most important proviso, however. On this proviso turns the question, Can *any* exempt-tenure in the Bombay Presidency be designated private property ? The proviso is, that such title to exemption shall under no circumstances bar the inherent right of Government to assess even the exempt lands in times of exigency, and for so long as may be required. The words of the Section are :—

" *First*.—All land, whether applied to agricultural or other purposes, shall be liable to the payment of land revenue to Government, according to the established principles which govern the assessment of that description of land to which it belongs, except such as may be proved to be either wholly or partially exempt from the payment of land revenue, under any of the provisions contained in Chapters IX. and X. of this Regulation.

" *Second*.—Provided, however, that nothing contained in the preceding clause, or in the enactments therein cited, shall be understood to affect the right of Government to assess to the public revenue all lands, under whatever title they may be held, whenever, and so long as the exigencies of the State may render such assessment necessary."

We would ask, What does this law amount to but authority for the partial assessment of even exempt-holdings, ignoring all title-deeds, or title by prescription, and requiring in times of public need the revenue-free holder to bear his share of the public burden ? Can such property be called *private* property, when the public have such a great stake in it ? If the public could ever, in this way, interfere with it during the life-time of the holders, *a fortiori*, they possessed the right of escheat when no more holders were entitled to succeed. By the word "holder," we mean a descendant of the grantee of the public grant, but not a creditor or other assignee of the Inamdar merely. Surely the manner in which these two words—*private* and *public*—here clash together, makes it a mere mockery to call an Inam, or any other exempt-tenure, *private* property. Before Mr. Elphinstone could have enacted what we consider such a smashing clause to all notions of private property

in an exempt-tenure, he must have satisfied himself of its perfect justice. Perhaps, with this view, he referred to the Poona records, now in charge of Captain Cowper, which were, on the conquest of the country, under the superintendence of his own Secretary, Mr. McDonnell. At all events, there the law stands as plain as language can make it, and we need only ask ourselves, how it is possible that such a clause could have been unrighteously enacted by such a man? Our own idea of the tenure being so, it occurred to us that when the Three per Cent. Loan would not fill, and the Five per Cent. Public Works Loan was opened, there was a capital opportunity for putting the law in force on Inamdars. It might be said that Mr. Elphinstone never intended that that Section was to be worked; that it is inapplicable to the circumstances of the present times; and that it has become obsolete, by the Government having tacitly consigned it to oblivion. But we cannot adopt such an interpretation of the clause; for it had first of all been promulgated in 1823, five years after the conquest of the Deccan, when Mr. Elphinstone was Governor, and it was deliberately made law again in January 1827, Mr. Elphinstone not having left the shores of India until November of that year. It was not politic to let the holders suppose that enjoyment of their Inams, which must have been so violently disturbed just before the conquest, was again to be immediately interfered with by the peaceful conqueror who had come among them. So far from allowing this, Collectors had been from the very first vested with a discretionary authority to continue as life-grants, whenever they deemed it expedient, all those holdings which were at once resumable under the Regulation of 1823. Turbulent and idle classes, and Bhats and Brahmans, were also to be indulgently treated; but on the 10th June 1828, not a year after Mr. Elphinstone's departure, the very next Governor, Sir John Malcolm, forthwith did an act which, so far from showing any intention to forego the right of partial assessment, when necessary, was tantamount to a proposal to enforce it by the levy of a Nuzerana, or relief on successions, as considered, perhaps, the easiest mode, to the parties concerned, of putting on the assessment. We are quite aware that Sir John Malcolm did not cite the law as his authority for this intended measure, but he knew of its existence, doubtless, and probably felt, therefore, that it justified his proposal. We have alluded to the support it met at Lord Melville's hands, and may now quote a few words from Sir John Malcolm's Minute of the 30th November 1830:—

“ I have asserted that this tax might be greatly extended, and that it

would be most productive, and not unpopular. The reasons for these opinions are fully given in my Minute. The payment of Nuzzurana is in conformity with ancient and established usage; it is associated with the confirmation of hereditary claims, and, as a tax, is peculiarly appropriate to the actual condition and feelings of a number of the inhabitants of the provinces which have recently become subject to British rule in this quarter of India."

The scheme, however, did not then meet with the approval of the Honorable Court of Directors, who, in 1832, regarded it as though it were burdening a particular class of subjects with an exceptional tax; quite forgetful, apparently, that the law never intended that class to be for ever exempt from taxation, should the exigencies of the State require their contributions. Since then the Bombay revenues have continued to fail, and the amount of alienations has been felt to be so heavy, as to cause the Legislature of India to make provisions for some regular inquiry into them, with a view both to confirm just titles, *at their worth*, and to recover the wrongfully-withheld revenues. We think that whilst the "Public Works Loan" lasts, all Inamdars might be made to contribute for the benefits which they, in common with others, will derive from the cost of its works. Here is what the Marquis of Hastings said so far back as 1815:—

"Of all subjects of taxation, I should conceive the profits of the rent-free lands the most legitimate. The holders of land of this description are at present exempted from all contributions, whether to the local Police or Government, by which they are protected, or to the public works, from which their estates derive equal benefit with the rest of the community. They are indebted for the exemption, either to the superstition, to the false charity, or the ill-directed favors of the heads of former Governments, and other men in power, and have little personal claim upon ourselves for a perpetual exemption from the obligation they owe as subjects."—*Revenue and Judicial Selections*, Vol. 1.

And Sir Thomas Munro, in his Minute of the 31st August 1820, proposed putting a tax of from one-tenth to one-fifth of the standard assessment on Inam land. He said:—"I can have no doubt of the right of the State to resort to such a measure, whenever it may become necessary. It was never intended by the Native Prince who granted the Inam, it was never supposed by the owners themselves," that their lands were not to aid, in some degree, the public resources. Mr. Elphinstone evidently held the same views as the "master-workman," Munro. The land assessment of Bombay falls, we believe, on something like two-thirds of the population. The Government of India are pressed for money. The wretched Bengalee, who pays for himself and

Bombay too, and cannot get clean salt to eat, cries aloud against the alienations of this Presidency. Was not the "necessary" time arrived?

Supposing it were again intended to carry out such a just measure, it has more than once occurred to us that it would create less discontent among the Inamdars if the law were boldly promulgated by a legal proclamation, than by attempting to levy a *Nuzurana* on successions, or any other kind of tax, *without any allusion to the law*. In the latter case, it would convey to the minds of the people the same idea as is now under our humane Government conveyed by that ominous little word "puttee," which it is difficult to explain in all its significance, but which means an *arbitrary*, not a *lawful*, tax. It would be associated with the various "puttees" levied at the caprice of the former rulers, who were guided by no written laws; who levied them at no certain intervals, for no particular length of time, and not for any well-understood and fixed objects. If the Inamdars were required to contribute, it would not signify to the native ruler what designation he might give to the tax. He would simply fix on some name suggested by the particular and temporary object of its levy. The Inamdars of those days were accustomed to this mode of procedure, but they knew that our Government have always been averse to it. To note a recent illustration of this feeling:—When the people were asked if they would like to subscribe for the support of the widows and children of those who had served with the English fleets and armies, the uneducated portion were heard to ask each other what was this "suntosh puttee" (literally, voluntary tax or contribution) that the sahibs and district officers wanted to collect? They saw no law authorising even the proposal; it was immediately called a "puttee," which, we believe, in itself contains a notion of an arbitrary act; and to their minds, the reason for asking them to join in the contribution must have originated with English reverses in the Crimea. They must have supposed it was a sort of war tax. We particularly guard ourselves from stating that this was actually levied, as a "puttee," in the native sense of it, *volens*; and know nothing about the manner in which contributions were made by the natives. But here is another illustration of how much depends on the meaning of this word "puttee," and the manner of putting a law, or standing order, or guarantee of the Government, into force. Mr. Inverarity, the Collector of Belgaum, made a proposition that an "additional tax of six pies on each rupee of collection" should be levied "for the construction

and maintenance of a net-work of roads throughout the length and breadth of the land." But it met with only partial success—that is, it was approved of as far as the non-surveyed districts went. But what Captain Wingate and Government considered the insuperable objection to its adoption in the surveyed districts, was, that the thirty years' guarantee precluded Government, during its continuance, from imposing an additional tax on the land for any purpose whatever, unless with the consent of the land-holder. It was stipulated, however, that in the unsurveyed districts, the greatest care was to be taken that the assessment for the "District Improvement Fund,"—as the idea, with some modifications, was afterwards coined into,—should not appear as a distinct and additional tax for local purposes. It was by no means to be recorded in the *village* books. But the assessment, at the time of settling the rates for the district, was to be so put on as to cover the cost of the fund, which was to be disbursed from the district office, for the benefit of the whole district. Captain Wingate, in his published letter No. 57, of 17th February 1852, says :—

"It must be quite clear, that as regards the ability of the cultivator to pay both the assessment and the tax for local purposes, it is a matter of indifference whether the two are kept distinct, or mixed up in one ; but as regards the feelings with which he would contribute it, is by no means so. If the tax is kept distinct, he would call it a *jhastee puttee* (extra cess), and view it as the first, probably, of a series of fresh impositions, and as indicative of a return to the policy of native Governments. It would weaken his faith in the stability of the new assessment, in the case of districts not yet settled, and be viewed as a direct breach of faith on the part of Government, in the case of districts which have already obtained the thirty years' guarantee."

Now, the difference between the case of the guaranteed ryot under the surveys, and the guaranteed Inamdar under the Regulations, is, that in the former case it is a perfect guarantee, protecting the ryot from all assessment, of whatever kind, over and above the regulated amount ; whereas, with the Inamdar, it is a qualified guarantee, extending only to partial or total exemption in ordinary times, but reserving to Government the right to lay on assessment in times of emergency, during which times the exemption is to cease. A *vakeel* could take the case of the ryot into any *Mofussil* court, and gain the day. He would be immediately stamped out if he took the Inamdar into court, after once Government had publicly declared their intention to put the law in force on Inamdars. It is the *vakeels* who keep up so much of the litigation of the country ; but even if they represented the creditors and assignees of the Inamdars, their case would be no stronger. These

people knew what were the liabilities on the Inam land, according to law, and what kind of property they were receiving in mortgage, sale, or gift. If they did not know it, their want of acquaintance with the law does not make their case a bit better. When once a public proclamation had been issued, citing the Regulation XVII. of 1827, Sec. II. Clause 2nd, the Government might then meet the views of the Inamdars in levying assessment in such fashion as best suited their convenience and their own idea,—either on successions or in any other way ; but if the Inamdars then called it a “ puttee,” we should say it was a misnomer, since the written law takes away the notion of an arbitrary act. It would, however, be impolitic to include the religious holdings in the general taxation of Inams. We think that if this measure were carried out, it would arouse the faculties of the payers of land revenue to a sense of the injustice of their being so overburdened with taxation, owing to the existence of such a large quantity of alienated lands free from that burden ; for even yet they do not see the unfair position in which they are placed. In Kolhapoor—if example in a living native State be wanted—the Inamdars contribute 30 per cent. on their possessions, besides being “ liable to be called upon for other customary State contributions, which have hitherto amounted to a further annual sum of about 5 per cent.”* This of course makes the general taxation of the State more equal.

Let us return to the history of our word Inam. Was its tenure not defined, in any way, by the Regulation of 1823, or of 1827 ? No ; neither Regulation mentions it by name, notwithstanding that each contains a list of the tenures which were to be considered exempt, as being so recognised by the custom of the country. One reason, perhaps, for the word Inam not appearing in the list was, that it did not profess to contain *all* the recognised exempt-tenures, but only the “ more particular” ones. It might be added, too, if good cause could be shown for the admission of any new names to its benefits. Another reason probably was, that the opinions of the revenue authorities were so conflicting—the word had come to have so loose a signification—its privileges and limits were so indistinctly marked—it would be safer not to authoritatively pronounce upon it, and declare it one of the tenures recognised as exempt by the custom of the country. Better leave the Collectors and Judges to deal with it according to local acceptance, as cases arose. We must here mention that the advantages of a “tenure recognised by the custom of the country” over an ordinarily exempt-tenure, were, apparently, that if in the case of the latter tenure

* Major Graham, p. 65.

six years' assessment by Government could be proved, it destroyed the claimant's title (in cases based, of course, on prescriptive enjoyment, and not on valid deeds of grant); whereas in the tenure recognised by the custom of the country, proof of assessment for double that period, or twelve years, had to be deduced by the Government officer, before he could assert the Government right to assess. But in 1831, a Supplement came out to Reg. XVII. of 1827, the Government having collected sufficiently trustworthy information to enable them to declare that the two tenures which we have spoken of in a former page, called the "Vechania" and "Gerania" tenures of Guzerat (originating in invalid grants of the patels), were now to be ranked among the tenures recognised as exempt by the custom of the country. It is a remarkable fact, that in the Regulations of 1823 and 1827 it was ordered that these two tenures were "in no case, so far as the rights of Government are concerned, to be considered as tenures recognised by the custom of the country." We allude to this as exemplifying the fact that the information collected on the conquest of a country cannot be always relied on. In 1833 another Supplement to Reg. XVII. of 1827 was promulgated, but neither in that does the word *Inam* appear. It is impossible to suppose that Government did not know what *Inam* meant, yet their pointedly abstaining from mentioning its name is a most note-worthy circumstance. The next most common word to *Inam*, viz. "Wuttun," was specified, and as to "Jageers," the Government declared without hesitation, in 1823, that "land held exempt as Jageer shall be liable to resumption and assessment under the general rules, at the pleasure of Government." This was confirmed in the 38th Section of the Regulation of 1827.

The Collectors and Judges, then, had been left, as we have shown, between 1818 and 1833, to set their own value on the word, and necessarily their decisions were very conflicting, even in the same courts. Some regarded *Inam* property as private freehold, which could be used in whatever manner the *Inamdar* chose, and recognised even his right to devise it by will to his adopted son, or anybody else; which was to ignore the reversionary right of the public, on failure of descendants of the body of the original grantee. This was interpreting *Inam* in the full sense of "gift," and as an Englishman understands that word. They seem to have argued to themselves in some such strain as this:—The Nizam pulls down Dupleix, sets up Clive as *Inamdar* in his place, and grants him land, to do with as he pleases. Why should the English treat the small *Inamdar* differently? The

minority of thinkers on other judicial benches would be inclined to meet such an imaginary argument by stating, that when wise heads propounded a law, abstract discussion based on English notions of property should give place. Had the Government intended to part for ever with the exempt lands, they would not have enacted a clause qualifying the exempt-tenure, and ensuring a prospective interest in it for the benefit of the public. This act of ownership at once dispels the notion of private property in an exempt-tenure. These thinkers would (in the spirit of the definition of Holt Mackenzie) not be satisfied, in the absence of deeds, that an Inam tenure necessarily meant even an hereditary one, still less a *permanently* exempt-tenure. We fancy their decisions would have also gone forth, that so long as the law gave to the Government the right to assess in times of exigency, transfers, by sale or gift, of Inam lands, could only be risk transfers; that they would further declare that to transfer without the sanction of Government, to an adopted son or assignee, would neutralise the right of Government to claim the reversion of the holding, if the family of the Inamdar became extinct. We believe it to be quite certain, that the public interests have suffered by such conflicting opinions; but we, nevertheless, assert, that the remedy is still in the hands of Government, whenever they may deem the times to be of such exigency as to demand the enforcement of the law. If any improper transfers have taken place, putting the law in force would soon bring them to light, and rectify the evil, by making the original Inamdar's family come forward, and if they were not to be found, the holdings could be permanently assessed. We take the following extract (p. 35) from Mr. Willoughby's Minute on the Tora Gerass levy of Guzerat. It contains a valuable warning for all revenue officers:—

“The present case also illustrates the necessity of attending rigidly to the earliest symptoms of innovation upon old tenures and customs. We see that instances where the officers of Government may have sanctioned, or not protested against, the alienation of rights, are adduced as evidence to prove the alienable nature of such rights; and I believe, by degrees, Wutuns, and rights connected with offices, and created and sanctioned by Government for purposes of police and policy, and over which it is desirable that Government should continue to exercise control in order to enforce the performance of the duties attaching to such offices, have become alienable to a larger extent than the law, properly administered, will justify. There are many payments and allowances which Government may be bound morally to make, but which ought not, and cannot, be properly enforced by a court of law against the Government. Of this nature I consider the Tora Gerass payment, which Government must retain the right of discontinuing, or temporarily withholding, without challenge by a court of law.

These are imperfect rights, and no attempt made to alter their character should ever be allowed, without the matter being brought to the special notice of Government ; and I think it will be well to issue general instructions to the Collectors, in no case to allow of transfers of rights, which partake of this character, without a special reference to Government."

After the year 1833, the word still continued to be turned over and over like a doubtful coin, until, in the time of Sir George Clerk and Mr. Reid, with poor Goldsmid as Revenue Secretary, it was its fortune to receive a decided stamp ; and in the succeeding reign of Lord Falkland, after changing hands a good many times between the Presidency and certain Mofussil authorities, it was eventually tested, as the Persians would phrase it, "on the touchstone of experiment," by the Government Assayer in Bombay. As he pronounced it current, it was forthwith delivered into the Calcutta Mint, and came out in 1852 manufactured into a new specie, but still the genuine coin, with the following superscription (Act XI. of 1852, Schedule B, regarding claims to personal Inams, &c.) :—

"2. All land held under a Sunnud declaring it to be hereditary, shall be so continued according to the terms of the Sunnud."

This rule had three provisions attached to it. The first required that the grant should have been either made, or specifically recognised, by a competent authority. The second, that there had been nothing in the conditions of the tenure which could not be observed without a breach of the laws of the land, or the rules of public decency. The third, that the grant had not been afterwards revoked, or disallowed, or an alteration of its terms ordered or recognised by a competent authority. These, then, are the points to be determined when a claimant produces documentary evidence of a reliable character. But, when this is partly defective, or no such evidence is forthcoming, a title may be set up by the claimant, [which means, by the investigating officer searching the records for him,] based on authorised and continuous enjoyment for a term of years under the former Government, and on proof that one or two generations of the family of the original holder have succeeded in obtaining possession. Thus, proof of such enjoyment for a period of *sixty* years, and through *two* or more direct descendants, creates an *hereditary* title in the incumbent at the conquest of 1817-18. If the holding has been so enjoyed for only *fifty* years, or less than *sixty*, and *one* generation had succeeded, then *only* a terminable title is made out in favor of the holder at the conquest,—that is, when *one* generation from *his* body have passed away, the exemption ceases, and Government put on assessment,

as ~~it~~ had done before the grant. We shall revert to this subject again. Successions take place, according to the custom of the country, among Hindus, by male descendants, and among Mahomedans, by both male and female descendants. When marriage is forbidden by the religious law of the Inamdar, or not customary in the caste, then succession goes on by means of disciples, or whatever names the nominees, male or female, may go by. These are the rules regarding claims to personal Inams not adjudicated before the passing of the Act. Of course, when the British Government have already pledged their word in any former decision, it cannot be called back, unless there be proof that fraud had been practised in obtaining that decision.

The next class of holdings are those for the support of religious establishments, as temples, mosques, and similar cherished institutions of the country. The Legislature has applied the word "permanent" to these, which word holds out the promise that religious toleration, which has hitherto been the policy of the British Government in India, shall continue to be their policy. If the investigating officer, therefore, should come across a grant for religious purposes which does not contain words expressive of its permanent character, such a character is implied as the very essence of the grant. The idol of the Hindus and the Jains is, in the hearts of each, supposed to live for ever. The followers of the Prophet are allowed to believe that theirs is the only true and enduring creed. When no sunnuds or other documentary evidence is forthcoming in support of the title to exemption of lands for religious purposes, if *forty* years' authorised and uninterrupted enjoyment in the Peshwa's time can be proved by the investigating officer, it is sufficient for him to declare the holding a "permanent" one; to last, that is, until a temple of Truth shall be raised, on the only right foundation, when the people themselves will naturally divert the revenues to its support. There is a marked difference in this respect between the law of 1832 for the Deccan provinces, and the law of 1827 for the old provinces. In the former, the Collector was bound to interfere and avenge the rights of the village goddess, if the people complained that the managers of the temple were misappropriating her revenues. That law went, or rather goes, beyond mere toleration,—to active countenance and patronage. We do not say that the Collectors did interfere, but that they were bound by law to do so, if their aid were solicited by the people. We well know, however, that it was only at the end of 1842 that the practice was discontinued of the Collectors certifying in their abstracts to

the Civil Auditor, that the payment for " Masabishek," " Vyas Pooja," and such religious ceremonies, were made to the proper parties, and that during the period charged in the abstracts, those ceremonies had been duly performed. It was a religious duty, second only to his own as a Christian, and we rather think that Campbell would say that it was about the only part of a Collector's duties in the Alienation department, which can be said to have been at all religiously performed ! By leaving the religions to themselves, as the Act of 1852 requires, these false creeds are likely to go to decay much quicker than if Government officers showed the slightest interest for the preservation of their worship.

A third class of holdings relates to Inams granted for the performance of service *to the village*, as contra-distinguished from service *to the State*. These are, by local usage, hereditary ; for they are the very *fons et origo* of the village constitutions. Whether or not a grant have words introduced into it of hereditary import, the holdings would, nevertheless, be so treated. There are a great many petty village offices, but all do not exist in every village, though many are common to every village. They are too numerous to mention in this paper. So long as village polity is what it is, no administrator in his senses would attempt to interfere with these service grants. They might at present be designated permanent. But when a village grows into a town—when trades and professions cease to be monopolies, which now in village communities they almost always are—that is, when competition and free trade come into play—some of the petty offices of a village are sure to die a natural death, and others might, if considered necessary, be then abolished, without any hardship or injustice. Such a state of things is very far distant, and with these our ideas, we pass from the village staff to the service nominally rendered *to the State* by the hereditary district officers, of whose usefulness we entertain a far different estimate—we mean the Dessaees or Deshmookhs, Sir Dessaees, Nadgowdas, and Deshpandays. The treatment of their holdings is about the most unhealthy symptom of revenue management in the Bombay Presidency. Their emoluments in land, grain, and cash, are really a crushing incubus on the public revenues ; the service taken from them—not personal service, but service of deputies,—or a small tender in cash in lieu of service, is so absurdly disproportionate to their gigantic Wuttuns (service holdings) as to make it almost tantamount to keeping up two establishments for purposes of collection—viz. that of these hereditary district officers, who were the chief instruments

in the Peshwa's time for this duty, and our own costly establishment of Duffurdars, Mamlutdars, Deputy Collectors, Mahalkurees, and subordinates. Our experience of the services of the hereditary district officers, gathered from personal observation and the writings of able revenue servants of the Government, has been, that they are a most useless and inefficient body of men, never willingly aiding the operations of the public servant of Government, but rather doing their utmost to thwart and mar all his endeavours. Particularly when professing to bring the Inam Act into force, they threw every possible obstacle in its way, and this, considering how handsomely they are remunerated, cannot be too severely condemned. Instead, however, of regarding their service holdings as remuneration, or reward for service, as *bond fide* "pugar," i. e. pay or wages, they seem to look upon them as their "haks" or "rights," free from all conditions. Either the service exacted, or assessment in lieu of service, should be greatly enhanced, or the authorities might follow in the steps of the Bengal Government, and abolish the office. In Bengal, the hereditary district officers of the former Government have, we believe, been long since numbered among the things that were.

Next comes a class of holdings to which the rules for the adjudication of other holdings shall not necessarily apply. These are holdings of a political nature. An exempt class among the exempt. The maxim, "*pacem subjectis et debellare superbos*," seems to be reversed in the alienation department throughout India. It is very remarkable to notice the extreme indulgence with which Sirdars and Chiefs are always treated. They are verily a privileged class, and above the law! They are allowed to clamour for their rights, but the Indian Governments seem afraid to remind these parties of their obligations. When the country was taken, it was stipulated that whatever Inams, &c. were held by the Chief at the breaking out of the war, within the special dominions of the Company, should be continued after inquiry. This period of the war was fixed, because to go into the question of original right would be to create as much havoc among holders of Inams as the Pindaries did throughout the country. But it was also agreed that the rights of the Government in the Jageer States should be restored. We would ask, Is not the Agreement of Punderpoor, of August 1812, which is still in force, a dead letter as far as those clauses which were designed for the advantage of Government are concerned? In it we find the following Article II. :—

"The Jageerdars engage to restore promptly all usurped lands, without exception, and to relinquish all revenues which they enjoy without sunnuds.

Their sunnuds are to be examined for this purpose, and any grounds they may offer for mitigation, to be hereafter investigated. Under this Article all lands which are held in *cômanis* are to be restored to the Peshwa."—*Bombay Treaties*, p. 761.

This agreement was made with the Chiefs of the Southern Mahratta Country in a body. Here is what Campbell says of the other side of India :—

" Jypore was bound to pay eight lacs (which it paid to the Mahrattas before us) from a revenue of 40 lacs, with provision for prospective increase. Although it has so large a revenue, it furnishes no contingent, and never paid up its tribute, because the Rajas preferred spending the money, and of course would not pay if they were not made to. The late British Agent was an enthusiastic admirer of Rajpoots, and succeeded in getting the tribute reduced by half, on the ground that it had never been paid."*

We do not think that Bombay could be accused of greater tenderness, and consequent injustice, than this. One branch of the political holdings comes under the Surinjam rules of the Deccan. The inquiry into this has partly revealed the scramble for Inams which took place on the Peshwa's downfall ; and how soon the majority of officers had given to the word Inam a sense of permanency, which it never bore under native Governments ; and how holdings, not strictly Inam, came to be entered in the Government accounts under this heading, thus escaping conditions of service. It has also gone far to correct erroneous opinions which prevailed, not only on the " Mokassa," " Jageer," or " Surinjam" tenure,—three convertible terms in India, however generic the last named may be in Sind,—but has assisted in diffusing a great deal of useful collateral information on alienation matters hitherto hid in the Poona archives, or else not fully appreciated ; and we hope to see the researches of the able officer in charge of that inquiry, and of other officers who have superintended the Poona Duster, published for the information of the revenue servants of Government, if not *in extenso*, in some condensed shape. We are satisfied that the more that is known on alienation matters, and the warmer the discussion that takes place, the better for the public interests.

A clause in the Act now follows, authorising the investigating officer to continue, as an act of grace, during the life-time of the holder, all those holdings the titles to which have been proved defective, unless there be fraud proved. This gives sufficient

* Modern India, p. 164.

• warning to the son, or legal heir (as a creditor under a certificate of the civil court), not to look to the holding for future support, or as a means of defraying money claims against the holder. When a holding escheats from defect of title, no one is ousted from possession, but assessment is laid on according to the survey rates, and the party entitled to the 30 years' guarantee is the occupant of the soil; but if the Inamdar happened to be occupant, and not merely the recipient, of the Government tax, he would of course be entitled to have his name entered in the public accounts as what is now called the "Khatedar," and be considered the guaranteed Government tenant for thirty years, if he chose. Another clause lays down the manner in which the widows of the last incumbent of a resumed holding may be provided for during their lives.

Let us now return to the personal holding—that is, the one held free from all conditions of secular or religious service; the holding, in fact, of which the holder is rightly designated Inamdar, and nothing more. It has no qualifying adjuncts or prefixes. What does the law declare such a tenure to be? Is a personal Inam an hereditary tenure? There can be no question that the most common form of an Inam grant to an individual was an hereditary tenure. The Peshwa's records fully establish this position, but if the original grant and registry be silent on the point, and the grants be made to *an individual* in Inam, not to him and his descendants, it is not necessarily inferred that it was an hereditary grant. The inference is the very opposite; but in such case it is possible that a prescriptive title of one of the two degrees we have before named may be established on the incumbent at the British accession. By his succession to the holding, his title becomes complete, and the period of the future continuance of the holding would be determined according to the length of time his father or grandfather had been able to maintain their position under their paramount lord, the Peshwa. It would create either a terminable title, or an hereditary title, in the family of the incumbent of 1817-18, who becomes, as it were, the British grantee. His uncles and brothers could not, of course, succeed under our Government, but only his own *descendants*. In the next place, an argument against the Inam tenure being inherently an hereditary tenure is, that an Inam grant is sometimes made for a term of lives, either one or more. Sir Thomas Munro speaks of such grants; and our own Government used often to make them as rewards to meritorious public servants, until it discovered

how systematically these worthies over-reached them, by getting villages and lands made over, far exceeding in value that of the proposed grant. Those who have waded through the Khutput Blue Books will remember a grant of this kind to Nursoo Punt, of Baroda notoriety, but we forget whether it was on an hereditary tenure, or only for a term of lives.

Whilst discussing the general question of the nature of the Inam tenure, it may be as well to allude to an opinion which was recently entertained in the very highest quarters, that an Inam grant was originally one from the rich to the poor, for his maintenance. We very much doubt whether this is correct. But, if this is what an Inam grant originally was, the Peshwa's records prove that it has long since lost that character. We assert that any person, rich or poor, might be an Inamdar, and, according to our ideas of the word, the French and English themselves were at one time Inamdars on a large scale. The following are a few of the instances, which might be multiplied, in support of these remarks:—Warren Hastings grants Sindia, for his noble behaviour at the Convention of Wurgaon, "the fort, town, and purgunna of Broach," in testimony of the generous conduct manifested by Maharaja Subhadar Mahdoo Rao Sindia to the Government of Bombay, at Wurgaon, and of his humane treatment and release of the English gentlemen who had been delivered as hostages on that occasion.* Then, in 1802, the Gaekwar grants to the Company of the English Bahadoor "an Inam, or donation," of "the purgunna of Chiklee," "as a spontaneous mark of his gratitude" for their sending Major Walker to his help in reducing the rebel Mulhar Rao Gaekwar Himnut Bahadoor.† We may further quote the Gaekwar's sunnud to illustrate the manner in which the pre-existing rights or parties in the district are reserved: "Saving always, and subject to the gifts and donations, such as daily allowances, annuities, Inams of land and villages, charitable allowances, durukdars, jasoods, and the rights of zemindars, and whatever there may be in this Mahal." And one more grant in the same year was that of the village of Bhata, in the purgunna of Chowrassee, in Inam, to the Gaekwar's Dewan or Minister, for the purpose of an abode for himself and family, "to the end that, entering on the possession thereof, he may appropriate its produce to his support."

We are satisfied that our readers, on the first perusal of these grants, would exclaim, in connection with our former remarks, If

* Bombay Treaties, p. 707.

† Bombay Treaties, p. 144.

this is not private property, what is ? Our answer would be, that, according to the custom of the country, so long as the family of the grantee are in existence, whether the "Company" of the English Bahadoor or the small Inamdar, they are at liberty to do what they like with their own, so as their act is not illegal. But as at present the cry is "Long life to the Company of the English Bahadoor!"—and this is likely to endure for an indefinite period—what we have to say relates only to the Native Inamdars. We assert, as regards them, that when the family of a grantee have died out, if arrangements had been made during their life-time with creditors or other assignees, to which the Government were not a party, those arrangements, however valid as between the Inamdar and assignee, could, under no circumstances, be binding on the Government. This remainder man, as it were, is always ready to step in and claim the escheat for the public, when, the family of an Inamdar becoming extinct, the intentions of the grantee had thus seen their fulfilment. As with the States of Nagpoor and Satara, so with the holdings of petty Inamdars. In the latter case it is homœopathic annexation in infinitesimal doses ; in the former, still homœopathic (would say the *Friend of India*), but the pills are larger. We can, however, quite enter into the views of those who wish to see all future restrictions as to personal Inams at an end ; to see, that is, landed estates marketable, as in England, and bargains and contracts taking place as in commerce, so as to efface the very words of "lapse" and "escheat" from the vocabulary of the Government revenue officer. Everybody must wish for such a desirable state of things, but it resolves itself into a question of £ s. d. Bombay cannot afford it. It must for a long time to come jealously watch for all lapses of Inams. The principle must, for the present, continue to be that, if a grant does not specifically declare that an Inam is transferable (which we rather think it never does—we have never seen such a grant by a native ruler), the inference is, that transfer, to the detriment of the public right of reversion, was never intended. The custom of the country in England would be the very opposite. A grant by a former English king on hereditary tenure, would imply, that the Crown had parted with the land for ever and ever, out and out ; so that the grantee and his family could devise the land by will, and the Crown could only claim the escheat when no owner (not when no descendant of the original grantee) could be found. But England has her excise and customs to look to, to support her Government. Bombay has very little beyond the land revenues, and not half

enough yet of them. We will close this part of our subject with the following remarks made by Mr. Willoughby, in his Minute in the Satara Blue Book :—

" *Para. 18.*—Although, however, I concur with those who are opposed to adoption on principle, I should be very glad to see a relaxation from that maxim of our rule in India which is hostile to the acquisition of property in the soil. I should like to see rent-free estates created throughout the country, either by grants conferred in perpetuity or long leases, on those who have conspicuously distinguished themselves in the service of the State, and such grants might occasionally be substituted for the pecuniary pensions at present awarded. I should also like to see a system, gradually introduced, of allowing, in the first instance on a limited scale, and under such rules as would secure the rights of all parties possessing an interest in the soil, the redemption of the land-tax now paid to Government. The creation of rent-free estates by these means would, I think, be a vast benefit to India, and would develop its resources far more effectually and expeditiously than can be expected so long as the Government shall continue the landlord of the whole country.

" ' The best of all workmen is he who works for himself. Thus the enterprise of an individual, when well directed and ably sustained, will generally be found to exceed that of the State or of incorporate communities. The economy of a man who is to reap the whole profit of a venture, his keenness, vigour, and spirit, are unconquerable ; his daring is commensurate with his gain ; he stands unequalled, because others have divided interests, and he but one.' I hope I shall be pardoned this allusion to a very large question, which is not, I conceive, altogether irrelevant to the subject under discussion."

We now come to the process of investigation. The first step is, to give a general invitation to all holders of Inams in a district, to come in and state their claims, either before the officers of the Inam Commission or revenue authorities of the district. The claimant accordingly appears and makes a written statement, explaining the nature of his title, and offering evidence in support of it, either oral or documentary. The statements of the claimants are at first placed on record, but are tested as soon as possible afterwards by the entries in the Government accounts and State records, and by any other evidence procurable, whether in favor of the Government or of the claimants. Decisions are then passed on them as to the continuance, resumption, or full or partial assessment of the lands. Certified copies of the decisions are given to the Inamdar or his agent, as it may be, and the Collector carries them out at the written requisition of the Commissioner, with the aid, when necessary, of the Revenue Survey department. When the general invitation is not attended to, particular notices are issued to holders, calling upon them to appear at the latest within two months, either personally or by vakeel, and to be ready with all their proofs. The party is threatened in the

notice with the attachment of the holding if he fail to comply with its terms. But if the holder cannot be found, and he have no representative or other person in charge of the land, a notice of another kind is stuck up in the Chowree, or most public place in the village, and in the office of the native revenue officer, calling upon anybody who may claim as proprietor to appear, as above, within six months. If nobody come forward within that time, the land and interest are attached by the Collector, at the written requisition of the Inam Commissioner or his assistant, and the rents that may accrue therefrom are credited on account of Government, pending inquiry and decision. If this be favorable, or, if before the decision be passed the Inam Commissioner see cause to remove the attachment, the Collector acts up to the requisition, but cannot restore to the alleged proprietor any rents which may have been collected, except under the general or special instructions of Government. Appeals against the decisions of the Assistant Inam Commissioners lie to the Inam Commissioner, and against his decisions, to the Government. A period of a hundred days from the date of the decree is the period within which the appeal must be made. "No decree passed by the Inam Commissioner or any of his assistants shall be liable to be set aside for want of form in the proceedings, but only for matters affecting the justice of the decision."

It is very evident from this mode of procedure that the Inam Commissioner cannot be looked upon in the light of what some people fancy a 'Resumption' Commission to be. In that word there certainly is associated the idea of a violent act,—a determination beforehand, not only to lay on assessment, but even to oust from possession. It seems to pre-judge the case, not only of the Inamdar or recipient of the assessment in place of the Government, but of the actual occupant of the soil, who pays that assessment. But the object of the Inam Commission is just as much to confirm valid titles, and to quiet all doubts, as to recover the wrongfully-withheld revenues, and on no account to interfere with possession in any way. *Prima facie* bad holdings are not exclusively dealt with. It has, indeed, been found to be quite a delusion and a snare, to speak of a *prima facie* good or bad holding; for, until the entries in the Government accounts and State records have been searched, the truth cannot be revealed; and many apparently good holdings turn out rotten, and *vice versa*. Claims are, therefore, taken up and disposed of impartially, as the law requires; and the financial part of the business does not form matter for greater gratification

than the confirming a good title. The Commissioner of Inams, under Act XI. of 1852, comes into court with the same feelings as the judges in the ordinary Courts. He is a revenue judge, while they are civil and sessions judges. Only let the reader turn to the Public Selections from the Government Records Nos. IX. and XV., and wade through two cases disposed of by Mr. Hart, as Inam Commissioner, and he will be convinced of the extreme fairness of the inquiry. Those cases illustrate what a pregnant meaning there is in the words "testing the statement of a claimant by the entries in the Government accounts and State records." We wish we had more space to enlarge on this particular point, but must pass it over now, with a brief allusion to that remarkable repository known as the "Poona Duffer," which contains the archives, or registries, and accounts which used to be kept at the seat of the Peshwa's Government. This is the pivot upon which the whole machinery of inquiry works. Accounts of the revenue management of their respective charges used to be rendered by the district and village officers, and all public officers sent on deputation into the districts. Information on every source of revenue and expenditure was centred in the "Poona Duffer," the departments of which were admirably organised to ensure its efficient working. But for the attainment of a correct record of public and private rights, special returns of the state of the alienated revenues were required ; and the alienation department in particular was preserved in a very complete state up to the reign of Bajee Rao. A grant of the public revenue could only be got ready after it had gone through some important stages and styles of working, in stated offices ; and when its registry had been duly effected, the *sunnud* or grant might be looked upon as a valid instrument. A good deal of technical knowledge is necessary to appreciate the force and value of certain documents and sets of accounts, and there are still living one or two professional witnesses of the time of the Peshwa, who were among the class called "hereditary Duffer carcoons." It was the genius of the celebrated Nana Funnavees which brought the Poona Duffer into the state of efficiency which, during his regency, it is found to have acquired. Without using the particular terms used in the Duffer, and showing how one branch of it bears upon and checks the other, it is impossible to convey any accurate notion of what this great repository consists. We therefore pass on with this very imperfect allusion to it, to notice that, in addition to the authentic information to be obtained at Poona, the Commissioners obtained masses of revenue accounts throughout the country. It had

been generally supposed that these accounts had been destroyed in the burnings of palaces ; in floods, whether of the Pindarries or of rivers ; by white ants and vermin ; instead of which, they have been found in a high state of preservation, in the hands of the very parties handsomely paid by the State to frame and keep them—viz. the hereditary district and village officers, who had systematically concealed and withheld them from the Government officers, in all cases except when their own interests were at stake. More shameful breach of trust it is difficult to imagine, and we dare say that titles to many a good holding may have been destroyed, owing to these officers not making forthcoming the very best evidence in its support. To depend on the evidence which was reposed in the memory of a native Indian inhabitant, was to throw open the door to perjury and fraud of every kind. The Collector who should decline to enter upon such an investigation, would do so rightly, under the fear that he might injure the individual or the Government ; and though we say that the individual may have frequently suffered, the Government was doubtless made to suffer systematically by this withholding of the evidence of their rights. Valuable public documents were also found in the possession of individuals,—of grocers, snuff-sellers, taboot-makers, and the like, who had purchased them at so many annas for a hundred bundles perhaps ! All this shows that the *onus probandi* rests with the Government, before it can assert a right to lay on assessment. The claimant makes the affirmation, and the Commissioners meet it with recorded evidence. If real evidence is cited, the Commissioners are bound to take it, imperfect and worthless as it generally must be. Forgeries are only to be expected ; but fictitious pedigrees are the most difficult kind of fraud to expose, because under the native rule, at each succession the new name was not always entered in the village and district accounts. The name of the original grantee was more usually kept up. When a claimant's assertions cannot be disproved, they are admitted, and, in the absence of accounts, many holdings have to be confirmed without proper test. The production of forged evidence is not allowed to affect a title otherwise defensible. It is simply set aside as a falsehood ; but of course, if the claimants have been instrumental in uttering the forgery, or have knowingly used a forged document, they may be prosecuted criminally. Many, however, bring forth palpable forgeries, which have probably been handed down from father to son in ignorance that they are so. Campbell amusingly writes :—

" I have turned up the collection of a forger who had the seals of every possible emperor, minister, and governor. It was but name your emperor, and say how much land you want, and a most imposing-looking grant was produced—all ancient, and musty, and tattered, and torn, but still preserving in legible characters the great seal of the Empire, signature of the prime minister, countersignature of the governor of the province, and the cardinal particulars of the grant."^{*}

But he says that there were no ancient records in the hands of Government, which would certainly make forgery more of a profession than it would be where such useful evidence was generally available as now, and, therefore, the chances of detection so much greater. The mere grant, without proof of enjoyment in virtue thereof, would be of no use to the claimant under the Inam Act.

We have finished our little history of " Inam," with our answer to the question, " What's in a name?"—and may be permitted to give a parting hint as to the word " Khatedar," which has been coined for the use of the Revenue Survey. A more expressive and ingenious word to define Rule 5 of the survey rules, and to describe the holder of the thirty years' guarantee of our surveys, could not have been devised. But its literal meaning is, " the holder of an account"—that is, a man entitled to have his name entered in the Government account-books. It expresses no *tenure* in itself. The survey rule alone defines its revenue meaning. If there be any vitality in the occupancy tenures known as the Meeras and Sootee tenures, the greatest vigilance will be necessary to guard against that word being handled to the endless detriment of the rightful occupants of the soil, by the jobbery of village accountants, and native officials even higher up in the scale. As Satara was managed between 1818 and 1848 as an independent province, we recommend the cultivation returns and accounts of 1848 or 1849 as the standard for ascertaining the party entitled to a settlement with the survey officer, rather than any more recent year.

^{*} Modern India, page 526.

ART. VI.—EXAMINATIONS OF CANDIDATES FOR THE CIVIL SERVICE OF INDIA.

The Report dated November 1854 from the Committee who were requested to take into consideration the subject of the Examination of Candidates for the Civil Service of the East India Company. Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, January 29th, 1855.

THIS is a document which we believe will exercise a remarkable influence on the destinies of India, and of which the effects will not be entirely unfelt in England. The Legislature has determined that the administration of the richest possession of the Crown shall be confided to those alone who have proved their competence for the great trust. The best proof is held to be success in an intellectual contest. The duty of devising a scheme by which the country shall be enabled to secure for India the services of men of large capacity and attainments, has been confided to a committee of statesmen and scholars, all of high academic distinction, and among whom is conspicuous the great writer "who at an early age had mastered every species of composition," and whose brief connection with India was an incident to which remote generations of its inhabitants will look back with gratitude.* The deliberations of the Committee have produced a letter to Sir Charles Wood, propounding a comprehensive plan of examination by which the ablest candidates are to be discovered, and suggesting for those who may be selected, a careful special training for the labours which they will have to encounter.

We imagine that very few will be found hardy enough openly to declare that merit ought not to be the sole recommendation for the Civil Service of India. Thoughtful and earnest men, who regard the exigencies of English society, and observe that while education is daily advancing, employments for educated men have not proportionally increased; who see the colonies swarming with accomplished men of excellent family, striving hard for an honorable subsistence, hirsute, fustian-clad, damper-fed; who witness the fierce competition of the bar, the hard struggle of a medical life—cannot consider it consistent with modern pro-

* See a very interesting note appended to Sir J. Macintosh's Dissertation on the Progress of Ethical Philosophy.

gress, that eight hundred appointments, affording, with most responsible duties, an early independence, and eventually considerable emolument, with liberal pensions, should be obtained by interest alone. When a feeling is entertained in England,—not by mere railers against principalities and powers, but by men of recognised administrative ability,—that every clerk's stool in a public office should be a prize and “*detur digniori*,” that excisemen and tide-waiters should be expressed from the expectant mass by the process of literary examination, it was not long to be tolerated that the best patronage that the nation—that any nation—could afford, should be distributed by an agency almost irresponsible, certainly one over which the nation had less control, than any other in the range of public life. It has been well and ably objected by some eminent men, especially by two Under-Secretaries,—Sir J. Stephen and Waddington,—that the prizes of the Home Civil Service are altogether incommensurate with the labour to be undergone, if the contest is really to be one between young men of a high order of merit; and that the duties to be performed are unworthy of such competitors. These objections, urged conclusively as we think with reference to the Home Civil Service, have no weight when applied to the Civil Service of India. With the exception of the high prizes of the Senate and the Bar, the Indian Civil Service, on the whole, presents the most lucrative and the most honorable employments which England can offer to the ambition of her youth. Mr. Trevelyan and Northcote, with the approval of great thinkers and great administrators, are deliberating how gaugers and post-men shall quit themselves like intellectual athletes, it would be a ludicrous inconsistency for the best appointments in India to be awarded in the same mysterious manner as in the good old times enabled young men of family to ruffle it at “the Cocoa-nut” or “Goosetree’s” as Clerks of the Pipe, or Surveyors General of the Leeward Islands.

It is a fact most honorable to those in whom this splendid patronage was vested, that it has always been distributed with parity, and that, through their agency, an administrative body, on the whole so efficient as the Indian Civil Service, has been organised. We wish to speak with due moderation of the service, and of its creators; but we think that to all candid minds we shall not appear to over-state our case when we say that the civil patronage of the Directors has been better bestowed than that of the Home Civil Service or the Colonial Department. Sir James Stephen has told us, that the majority

of the members on the establishment of the Colonial Office possessed only in a low degree, "and, some of them, in a degree almost incredibly low, either the talents or the habits of men of business, or the industry, the zeal, or the knowledge required for the effective performance of their appropriate functions." Let the following extract from Mr. Chadwick's paper on the re-organisation of the Home Civil Service be considered:—

"A secretary, complaining of the disadvantages of his service, related in illustration, that out of three clerks sent to him from the usual sources, there was only one of whom any use whatsoever could be made, and that, of the other two, one came to take his place at the office leading a bull-dog in a string. I have been assured that, under another commission, out of eighty clerks supplied by the patronage secretary, there were not more than twelve who were worth their salt for the performance of service requiring only a sound common education."

Again, in a note to his Minute, Mr. Chadwick gives us the following extract from a letter written by a retired official:—

"Besides the imbecile who is below work, and the coxcomb who is above it, there are other kinds of unprofitable officers, including a large class who have ability enough if they would apply. The public offices have been a resource for many an idle dissipated youth, with whom other occupations have been tried in vain. Such a person can be made of little use, whatever be his abilities, because he cannot be trusted. No one can tell to-day where he will be to-morrow. The ice is in fine condition, and he skates for a couple of days, a review tempts him; a water party cannot be resisted, and, after dancing all night, he is not seen at the office next morning. In fact, causes of absence are endless. Incessant altercation takes place with his superiors, with little effect, for he knows they cannot degrade or dismiss him, as a merchant or a banker would do, and he is proof against fines and minor punishments. At last he is given up as utterly incorrigible. Instances also occur of good abilities and dispositions rendered powerless by unconquerable indolence."

To these statements we may add the significant fact, which few will have forgotten, that when an Irish member had attempted to pass off a four-year old for a three-year old racer, on the Curragh, the late Mr. O'Connell, having a lively regard for the credit of his "following," called on the delinquent to resign his seat, with an intimation that an appointment should be procured for him in any dependency he might choose, "*excepting of course India.*"

And now, when a change is about to come over our Government of India, and the old things are to pass away, we may be permitted to say a parting word for our nursing mother Haileybury, before her walls are converted into barracks or a lunatic asylum, or similar base uses. When the heats of party shall have calmed, when the battle is over, the trophy erected,

and the spoils divided, impartial minds will not fail to acknowledge how much, under an imperfect system, has been done by the Directors of the East India Company for the education of their servants. We have admitted that the appointments in the Civil Service should be given to merit alone; but the radical error of private patronage being conceded, the Directors may allude with pride to their exertions to render their nominees worthy of the great trust committed to them. The College at Haileybury may not have effected all that its founders desired; the Civil Service, except in not being "twice paid," are far inferior to the office-bearers in the New Atlantis; but no imputation can justly rest upon the Directors. They have sincerely desired to do their duty. The professorial Chairs in the East India Colleges have always, by their liberality, been filled by men of great, and, in some instances, of illustrious reputation. "The highly educated" has long been a fair theme for the satire of the ingenuous Press of India; it has divided the admiration of "able editors" with that novel and exquisite play upon the name of the member for Honiton, on which a great man condescended in a moment of irritation. But, with all deference, we think those who have been trained by such men as Malthus, Macintosh, Empson, Jones, Jeremie, H. H. Wilson, and Stephen, may at least be considered as having had the opportunity afforded to them of obtaining the best education.

For our own parts, we shall ever look back with gratitude to the College, and to the venerable principal and the professors of our time, from whom we received so much kindness. Some have departed,—the bland courtesy of Empson, the hearty good humour of Jones, will be witnessed no more; but to those who remain, from our heart we can say, that "for our brethren and our companions' sake, we wish them prosperity." As we write, the old quadrangle comes before us; the library, with its pleasant fire-place and well-stored shelves; the chapel in which we boasted our pulpit would yield to none—collegiate, cathedral, metropolitan; for we had Le Bas and Jeremie, and since our time there has been Melvill. Occasionally we had glimpses of great men. Empson brought down his father-in-law Jeffrey, or his school-fellow Rolfe. The Chief Justice Tindal would, after the Hertford Assizes, drive over to see his old compères Batten and Le Bas. Sometimes an enthusiasm among the mathematicians of the College proclaimed that Peacock had been seen in chapel. Sometimes a student starting for his "constitutional," was pulled up by the voice of the title commissioner, strident and cheery,

inviting him to breakfast on the morrow, with the thrilling announcement, "Herschell's coming !"

But, kindly as we feel towards the College, its usefulness always seemed to us to be impaired by two great defects,—the one of discipline, the other of teaching. The first of these was, that the institution was neither a School nor a College. This has been so generally admitted, that it demands no discussion here. The other defect was the undue prominence given to the study of the Oriental languages. On this point we believe we are in a minority.

Our own opinion always was, that the Oriental languages should not be taught at all at Haileybury. We do not expect to carry all with us on this subject ; but we think few, after reflection, will deny that the overwhelming preference given to these studies was altogether impolitic. The scope of the instruction at the College was, in theory, worthy of all praise,—a liberal general education, with an adaptation to special requirements ; but in practice, the splendid opportunity of obtaining the best general education was frittered away for the narrowest and meanest specialty. That which could not be secured in India was sacrificed for that which could be best secured in India. The teaching at Haileybury included six divisions of study,—classics, mathematics, law, political economy, and two Oriental languages. If a student failed in one of the languages, he lost his term. If he failed in one of the European divisions, in such trifles as classics or law, it was not material. If he failed in two divisions, he was still safe. He actually was compelled to reduce himself by severe idleness to that state of intellectual attenuation, that he was pronounced deficient in three departments, before he could lose his term. But more than this : before our time, and during our time, it was ruled that if a student in his second term—that is, after one year's residence—had attained a certain degree of proficiency in two Oriental languages, he might be declared eligible for the service, and go out to India. If this system were correct, those fathers who had sent their sons to Rugby or Eton,—who had even strained their means to send them to Oxford or Cambridge, were altogether wrong ; they should have sent their sons to Duncan Forbes, or Ballantine, to be crammed with the Prem Sagar and the Gulistan. Well might Empson depose before a Committee of the House of Commons, "We can only give the students a very little law." Deplorable for the less studious was a system which enabled them to dispense, almost entirely, with the instructions of some of the most accomplished men whom England could produce ; still

more deplorable for the higher class of young men, who, at a period most critical for the culture of their minds, were compelled to leave liberal studies, in which they would have engaged with their whole souls, for what the labour of a few months in India would have mastered,—to turn from the matchless Athenian vindicating the decree of Ctesiphon, to Krishna and his milkmaids,—to leave the profound induction of Mill, to leave Dumont interpreting Bentham, for the wisdom of Hindu literature, for the sententious utterances of parrots, crows, jackals, and barbers.

But we must leave Haileybury, and look to the future. The appointments in the Civil Service, it has been determined, shall be given to merit alone. The question is next presented, How is that merit to be ascertained? The solution proposed for the difficulty is competitive examination. To this proposal numerous objections have been advanced, the force of which we are very far from admitting; but, even if they were more formidable than we are inclined to allow, the question would still remain, What substitute should be provided?

One of the ablest papers of the day, the *Examiner*,—of which we have long been disciples, but of which we may be allowed to hint, though the fate of the Archbishop of Grenada be ours, that it is not quite so strong on Indian as on other subjects,—has expressed its aversion from the plan now under consideration, in the sentence “We do not believe in first classes.” An opinion which exhibits not a little of the temerity of paradox, with something of the point of epigram, is certain to attract an admiring audience; but we confess it does not command our assent. Taking a “first class” with all deductions, it at least evinces the presence of large apprehension and retention, of resolute powers of application, and, above all, of the great faculty of concentration. If we look out upon the world, and remember how much, and how unduly, success in our country depends on ability in debate, towards which a first class can contribute nothing, we think the *Examiner* will still find something to stir up his faith. Such dignitaries as bishops, deans, archdeacons, heads of houses, regius professors, and head masters of schools, the *Examiner* would probably regard as the natural fruit of first classes, and as not entering into the discussion. Nor would it allow any weight to such names as Keble, Pusey, Sewell, the Wilberfortes, or Henry Manning; and, however willing to express respect for Sir W. Hamilton—for Arnold (bravest, wisest, best)—for Milman, and Lockhart—for Cramer, Senior, Conybeare, Lord Rosse, Baden Powell, Francis Newman, and Stanley—it would contend that the present question

was, Do first classes produce men of business? We accept the test. We confine ourselves to Oxford, against which University we believe the sarcasm to be levelled, but we should be quite ready to join issue as to Cambridge, were such a course deemed necessary. Let us first direct our attention to those to whose guidance the vessel of the State has been entrusted amidst the glooms of a general war. In the present Ministry there are eight first-class men,—Sir George Lewis, Sir Charles Wood, Sir George Grey, Lord Harrowby, Lord Wodehouse, Labouchere, Lowe, and Sir R. Bethell. The Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Lord Carlisle; the Governor General of India,* Lord Canning; and the Governor General of Canada, Sir E. Head, were first-class men. If former administrations be regarded, we are confident that the *Examiner* will accord no niggard portion of its faith to Sir Robert Peel, and that it will admit the claims of Gladstone, Cardwell, and Sir F. Baring. On consideration, also, it will not fail to recognise the ability of Lord Elgin, and the good business-habits of Lord Wharncliffe and Lord Shaftesbury. But let us apply the test more rigidly, and look to the most laborious offices of public life. Of the last eight Chancellors of the Exchequer, five have been first-class men. The permanent Under-Secretary for the Colonies, Herman Merivale; the permanent Secretary to the Admiralty, Thomas Phinn; the Chairman of the Board of Customs, Sir Thomas Freemantle; the late Deputy Chairman, George Dawson; the Receiver General of the Customs, Sir Francis Doyle; the Secretary of the Poor Law Board, Lord Courtney; the Secretary of the Council of Education, Ralph Lingen; the Emigration Commissioner, Sir F. Rogers,—were all first-class men. But why should we call over the roll? Let any one take up a Directory, and he will, on inquiry, be surprised to find how many Poor Law Commissioners, Bankruptcy Commissioners, Masters in Chancery, Commissioners of Audit, and incumbents of similar offices of a most laborious character, have been of the grade in which the *Examiner* does not believe. Two of the three gentlemen who have been engaged in planning the re-organisation of the Home Civil Service,—Sir Stafford Northcote and Professor

* We see it frequently remarked that the Marquis of Dalhousie only obtained a fourth class at Oxford. This is true; but the fact requires explanation. It is a custom to select a few of the under-graduates, who do not "go up for honors," and who undergo a perfectly distinct examination, and place their names in the fourth class of honors. This is done as a reward for their having acquitted themselves with remarkable credit in their examination. Of the men so honored, the Marquis of Dalhousie was one, Lord Harris was another, and so was Sydney Herbert, and many other distinguished men.

Jowett,—were first-class men. Cambridge has usually been considered the Legal University; it had the wisdom to establish public examinations with honors half a century before Oxford adopted the measure, and mathematical studies were long held to constitute the best preparation for the drudgery of the law. We think that the honors of the law are now more equally divided; but, conceding the superior claim of Cambridge to be regarded as the Alma Mater of Lawyers, Oxford can still point among her first-class men to Coleridge, Vaughan Richards, Purton Cooper, Tinney, John Nicholl, Bethell, Calvert, Talbot, Wrangham, Travers Twiss, and Roundell Palmer. Such reputations as these the *Examiner* will not be slow to acknowledge, and to the list we in Bombay may be permitted to add a name which will be remembered as long as virtue and learning are appreciated, the name of John Awdry.

We trust, then, we have afforded some reasons for removing the scepticism of the *Examiner*, and have inspired some confidence in the friends of India, that the interests of this magnificent country will not be sacrificed, should they be entrusted to the agency of men who have achieved the highest academical distinction.

Another objection has been advanced to competitive examinations by Mr. Edwin Chadwick, C. B., in a paper on the re-organisation of the English Civil Service. Like every document which proceeds from that gentleman's pen, the paper is worthy of most attentive perusal, and it is with very great diffidence that we venture to dissent from any of the conclusions which it suggests. The passage to which we take exception is the following :—

“To refer to instances of the practical errors occasioned by the past methods of training in merely abstract reasoning, which are matters of notoriety :—The late superintendent of machinery at the Woolwich Dock-yard was eminent as a calculator; and being one of the three judges appointed to determine a question between locomotive and stationary engines for the first railway at Liverpool, he declared,—reasoning upon the habit of abstract mathematics, without reference to the real nature of friction,—that if a locomotive were produced which dragged without cogs, he would undertake to eat the rails and the whole engine. A strictly academical examination would have admitted him, and would most certainly have excluded those who did the work. It would have admitted the gentleman who is, *par excellence*, an instructor in the abstract sciences, and who wrote articles in the reviews to show the impracticability of steam navigation across the Atlantic, and it would have excluded those who accomplished the feat. It would have admitted those who condemned the screw-propeller as being contrary to the abstract law that action and reaction are equal and contrary, and therefore impracticable, and it would have excluded those who effected the improvement. It would have included such men as the Astronomer

Royal, who brought before the Institute of Civil Engineers an abstract calculation to prove that the Crystal Palace could not stand, and it would have excluded the gentleman who had designed it, and who made it stand, as he had made other buildings stand, and who opened the way to some of the largest structural improvements that have been made in our time. Other instances may be cited as more directly applicable to administration—as, for instance, in relation to finance, it would have included the ‘calculating boy,’ and would have excluded the greater proportion of the most eminent actuaries, merchants, directors, and officers of the Bank of England, and of the East India Company, and other great commercial bodies.”

If the argument here stated be directed solely against a defect in the higher kind of education in England, and is intended to advocate the introduction of a new element into that system, it deserves much consideration; but if it is to be taken as an illustration of the probable failure of academical examinations to produce “the best men,” we must demur. The argument briefly stated, is, that under a certain mode of examination, A, who had pronounced impracticable a great work which B subsequently accomplished with complete success, would be admitted, while B would be excluded. Our objection to this reasoning is three-fold. First, we do not see why, with adequate preparation, the class represented by B should not succeed in a competition in which the examination, though founded on academical principles, was of a liberal and comprehensive character. Again, we consider that there is very great danger in supposing that B will be generally superior to A because A has in one instance perpetrated an elaborate error. The best progress is progress by antagonism. A great thinker may construct an objection upon a series of hypothetical propositions, the whole of which may be demolished in practical experiment, by a latent inconsistency of some part of the hypothesis with actual fact; but this is no argument that the objection should not have been advanced. Lardner and Airey were certainly in error; but, as Lord Bacon says, “error is only opinion in the formation,” and probably in their objections there was much which eventually conduced to the success of the experiment. But great men must not be judged by their mistakes. When Hobbes translated the *Iliad*, he made a mistake, and Newton was not strong on the *Revelations*. But these illustrious men, it may be urged, departed from the proper paths of their genius in these instances. This is true; but take an illustration more in point. Johnson, Parr, and Jeffrey stood high in the array of critics of their day, and posterity will confirm the judgment of their contemporaries, although Johnson was deceived by Lauder, although Parr believed in the genuineness of “Vortigern,” and although Jeffrey declared that “*The Excursion*” “would never do.”

But our third objection,—and this goes to the foundation of Mr. Chadwick's position,—is, that if we are really to choose between the Aireys and Paxtons, our vote, notwithstanding the error regarding the Crystal Palace, will be for Airey. It is not a very remarkable circumstance that a mind of the second order, which has revolved both in thought and with experiment on a particular subject, should arrive at a correct conclusion, when a mind of the first order, theorising on the subject for the first time, should drift into error. The fact does not affect the question of superiority. It is as unfair to judge Airey by his speculations on the Crystal Palace, as it would be to judge Paxton by any opinions he may possibly hold as to the irregularities in the motion of Uranus. What we have to regard is, which is the more powerful mind? And we may be assured that for all the higher incidents of duty to which the candidates would have afterwards to address themselves, the more powerful mind would prove the more efficient agent. The competition between the "calculating boy" and the East India Director, we are utterly unable to realise. The possibility of any of our honorable masters sustaining defeat, is a situation which our imagination is not vigorous enough to conceive, and we leave the contrast which Mr. Chadwick's rash fancy has suggested, with the painful apprehension that some iconoclastic irony may possibly have been intended.

Another phase of objection to the proposed competition may be represented by the following passage from the writings of a most able and estimable man, the late Mr. H. St. George Tucker:—

"Our excellent and accomplished professors at Haileybury wish to send forth men like themselves, eminent and highly-finished scholars; but this is not what we want. We do not require *literary razors* to cut blocks. Our service presents a vast deal of rough hard work, for which *intellectual hatchets* are more suitable. We want young men of sound principles, and good understanding, and moral habits, with minds fresh and pure, and with frames healthful and strong to sustain the laborious duties of the service. Mark the attenuated frames of some of our first-rate scholars, and say if they are fit to undergo the fatigues and annoyances of a suffocating *Cutcherry* for eight or ten hours successively. This was no uncommon occurrence with our judicial functionaries. Before the College was thought of, the Civil Service of India produced men of vigorous intellect, and of a masculine character, fully equal, in every attribute of statesmen, to those who have succeeded. Not that I undervalue education: on the contrary, I appreciate it most highly, although it may happen, now and then, that the usefulness of the scholar is neutralised by the pride of the pedant. I must repeat, that we do not require for our service deep theologians, profound lawyers, erudite physicians or metaphysicians, or subtle political economists. The men most distinguished in our service have gone out to India before

the age of eighteen, and when they felt a deficiency, some of them have educated themselves. I am not, however, at all disposed to depreciate the value of our College—far from it; I have myself too often had occasion to regret that I did not enjoy the advantage of a college education. Let us not, however, be led away by visionary speculations so far as to sacrifice a substantial good, or to incur a contingent evil, by giving an undue preference to scholastic learning. If our first soldiers and civilians had possessed the learning of the First James, India, I suspect, would never have been conquered by us; or, if conquered, would not long have been retained by the force of erudition. In fact, what we most want in India are men of good understanding, of moral character, and of industrious habits. There are some situations, no doubt, where talents and attainments of a high order are eminently useful; but, in general, the *substance*, and not the *polish*, is that to which we should most look.”

This passage abounds in those kinds of errors into which men of vigorous but undisciplined understandings are apt to glide, when they are not reasoning on facts, but are endeavouring to ascertain principles. We pass by such illustrations as the First James, believing it to be perfectly practicable that men may possess the learning of that fatuous monarch without his miserable cowardice. The argument, “if acquired would not long have been retained by the force of erudition,” we consider singularly infelicitous, when few, if any, have contributed so much to the preservation and extension of our Indian empire as Warren Hastings and Richard Wellesley. Of Hastings we know that when he was elected to the foundation at Westminster, he was first, and Impey was fourth. Exactly one hundred years ago, in January 1756, Impey obtained the second of the Chancellor’s medals at Cambridge; that is, he was the second best classical scholar of his year. It is by no means a violent presumption, then, that if Hastings had proceeded to Trinity, instead of Cossimbazar, he would have obtained the first medal,—a success afterwards achieved by the counsel who defended him in Westminster Hall, the first Lord Ellenborough, and which has also been achieved by such scholars as Porson, Mitchell, Wrangham, Maltby, Butler, Blomfield, Thirlwall, Long, and Kennedy. To the scholarship of the Marquis of Wellesley, in addition to his Latin prize poem and the little work which he printed shortly before his death, we have a remarkable testimony mentioned by Lord Brougham. When Goodall, the Provost of Eton, was examined before a Committee of the House of Commons in 1819, and an allusion was made to the transcendent powers of Porson, the witness asserted that Porson was not by any means regarded at Eton as the best scholar of his standing. “Who was, then, so considered?” asked the chairman (Mr. Brougham). “The Marquis of Wel-

lesley." Again, we might hint that Mr. Tucker would not have had to leave the India House to discover that a "subtle political economist" could be an admirable man of business.

Somewhat in the spirit of a "*laudator temporis acti*," Mr. Tucker says that "before the College (Haileybury) was thought of, the Civil Service of India produced men of vigorous intellect, and of a masculine character, fully equal in every attribute of statesmen to those who have succeeded." This we may admit; but without employing the ungraceful strain of Sthenelus, the son of Capaneus,* and confidently affirming that "we are better than our fathers," we think it may be said that, although the services do not now produce greater men than were produced of old, yet, as a body, the standard both for ability and zeal has been elevated since the establishment of Haileybury. The suggestion relative to "the attenuated frames of some of our first-rate scholars" has occurred to many. It has been met in the plan of examinations by the regulation, "that every candidate shall produce a certificate, signed by a physician or surgeon, of his having no disease, constitutional affection, or bodily infirmity, unfitting him for the Civil Service of the Company." This will probably be a sufficient precaution, as we are clearly of opinion that the difficulty has been overstated. University honors are not now gained alone "by pale men in worsted stockings, after thirty-six months of intense application." The best men have long discovered that the most profitable study is that which is undertaken with intervals of healthy relaxation. The canter to Abingdon, the pull to Itfley, the constitutional to Cumnor, even the slashing innings at Bullingdon, are now held to be by no means inconsistent with hard reading. The last time we were at "Lords'," we saw at that truly English institution,—which we trust will endure as long as the second estate of the realm,—the match between Oxford and Cambridge. We forget the names of all the players, but we recollect three first-class men at least on the Oxford side,—Rawlinson, Ryle, and C. D. Yonge,—and also that the game "was saved out of the fire" by the brilliant play of the last-named gentleman. We believe, then, there are no grounds for dreading that the Civil Service will be an asylum for broken constitutions; on the contrary, we see in the advanced age at which the new race will enter the service, good

* Ἡμεῖς τοὶ πατέρων μὲν ἁμείνων ἐυχόμεθα εἶναι.

Ἡμεῖς καὶ θήβης ἔδος εἰλομεν ἑσταπύλοιο

* * * * *

Τὼ μὴ μοι πατίσας ποθ' ὁμοίη εἰθεο τιγῶ

—Homer, Il. Δ, 405

reasons for hoping that they will be less liable to the accidents of climatethan those who arrive in India when little more than boys.

But the part of Mr. Tucker's Minute with which we have particularly to deal, is the preference evinced for "intellectual hatchets" to "literary razors." We must first remark on the illusory character of this kind of reasoning, which, we doubt not, partly owing to the respectable character, and partly to the really vigorous ability of the writer, has exercised no inconsiderable influence on those who take an interest in Indian questions. There will be a day, we trust, though we fear it is still distant, when the scales will fall from the mental vision of us all, and we shall understand that an association is hardly an argument, and certainly not a fact; but it seems to us one of the pleasant vices of the day, that men yield helplessly to metaphor, and shun the discipline of robust reasoning. In the passage before us we have an eminent man of great capacity stating that we want *substance* and not *polish*. In a note prefixed to the Minute we find his able biographer, Mr. Kaye, stating that Mr. Tucker "did not think that the vigor of the man was to be secured by sapping the vital energies of the stripling." To such "*petitiones principii*" as these, what answers are to be returned? Are we to say it is within the limits of possibility that substance and polish may be co-existent, or are we to oppose our assertion to that of Mr. Kaye, and declare that what he calls sapping the stripling, is in reality that process in arboriculture, whatever it may be, which is most conducive to the well-being of the tree? Such skirmishing hardly advances the discussion, nor are we entirely overpowered by the home-thrust of literary razors and cutting blocks. The lunge may be parried, and returned by the suggestion that a gentleman who contributed two tragedies* to the "Unacted Drama" of his country, "full of noble sentiments vigorously expressed,"—such is the statement of his biographer,—and who printed a collection of poetical enigmas, has in his own person proved that literary tastes and liberal studies are not inconsistent with an extraordinary capacity for finance, the most arid and rugged of the functions of Government.* But it is curious that Mr. Tucker should apparently have forgotten in relation to whom it was that the phrases, to which he has given all the emphasis of italics, were rendered classical; that he should apparently have forgotten the statesman, whose fate it was,

"Unemployed or in place, Sir,
To eat mutton cold, and cut blocks with a razor."

* "Harold" and "Camoens." We think we detect symptoms of the "Lucas Roswelliana" in the remarks of Mr. Kaye.

The familiar lines of Goldsmith might have recalled "one born for the universe," the greatest of political philosophers; one who had acquired "a knowledge of India such as few, even of those Europeans who have passed many years in that country, have attained"; one—we quote Macaulay—to whom "India and its inhabitants were not, as to most Englishmen, mere names and abstractions, but a real country and a real people"; one "who had as lively an idea of the insurrection at Benares as of Lord George Gordon's riots, and of the execution of Nancomar as of the execution of Dr. Dodd." The name of Edmund Burke should have assured Mr. Tucker, that as genius could find in India a field for its noblest energies, so the best education was the best preparation for the career of an Indian statesman.

But in reality there is very little reason to fear that the successful candidates for the Civil Service will be liable to the reproach which Mr. Tucker's observations suggest. There is nothing dilittante in the system of our Universities. In Oxford, the examination for honors will call into action the hardest powers of the intellect. Mere scholarship will never gain for a candidate a place in the highest grades. But upon this subject we may well refer our readers to a paper on "Oxford" in the second Number of our *Review*, and ask whether the system which was there so fully and faithfully described is only calculated to produce men "with sound views as to the middle voice." The friends of India may be assured that if they can obtain for the Civil Service men of large intellectual capacity, the salt of labour will preserve that capacity from decay. The Civil Service has, beyond almost all occupations, inherent vital energies. The demand for continuous exertion, large and early responsibility, the frequent necessity for prompt decision, has done much with materials the aptitude of which was only adventitious. Will it do less with an agency carefully selected? The apprehension that the new men will be above their work, we hold to be groundless. We once had the curiosity to visit a provincial court for the relief of insolvent debtors. We have the scene vividly before us,—the steaming crowd, the absence of deodorization, the volubility of creditors, a Jew insolvent under rabid examination, and attorneys with a passion for autoschediastic addresses. Serene above the surging mass below, we saw the presiding Commissioner,—acute, vigilant, laborious,—and we recognised a distinguished alumnus of Christ Church, who, many years before we were born, had obtained a first-class and the prize for Latin verses. With that scene before us, we have no fear of the new Civilians being unequal to "the

fatigues and annoyances of a suffocating Cutcherry." But even if we were to concede more than we justly can to Mr. Tucker's argument, we might ask, How are the hatchets to be secured?—how are the razors to be excluded? In the good old days of prejudices, it was not an infrequent incident for an advertisement of a vacant situation to conclude with the significant notice, "that no Irishman need apply"; but it would hardly be in unison with the present age of free competition, for a regulation to be framed that each candidate must produce a certificate from the head of some college, hall, or school, or from some clergyman or dissenting minister, that there is nothing brilliant about him, and he cannot distinguish between a dactyl and an anapest.

It has also been urged against competitive examinations, that they will exclude from the Civil Service a class of men who have no scholastic tastes, but are eminently distinguished for administrative ability. It is argued that there are individuals who, as boys and young men, have no relish for study, and whose talents are hardly known even to themselves until called forth by the attrition of public business. That there is justice in this objection cannot be doubted, and it has the more weight because the Indian service has been effective beyond all other services in producing men of this peculiar type. But we have to ask ourselves, whether the operation of official duties will not have the same effect upon highly-educated as upon less disciplined minds? The struggle of life will frequently invert the order in which the examiners have placed the successful candidates, and the last will perhaps eventually be first, and the first last; but the question for consideration is plainly this,—Is it not probable that under the new system all will be really efficient, and that there will be a greater proportion of remarkable men than are now to be found? If this position be established, it will be sufficient. For all progress, the balance of benefit must alone be regarded. Archbishop Whately has well taught us, that among the most dangerous of fallacies is the fallacy of objection. To any plan, theory, or system, objections can be advanced: the fallacy consists in the inference that, therefore, the plan, theory, or system should be rejected. A perfect measure, one "*totus teres atque rotundus*" is a faultless monster which the world ne'er saw. That is a wise measure which can work out a great good with the least concomitant evil; and of this class, in our opinion, is the measure which we have under consideration.

Having stated and attempted to support our opinion, that the resolution to award appointments in the Indian Civil Service to

merit alone is founded on good policy, and having endeavoured to meet the objections most frequently urged against the measure, our task, when we proceed to discuss the particular mode in which it is proposed to give effect to the decision of the Legislature, is comparatively light. We believe that most of those who object on principle to opening the Civil Service to intellectual competition, are willing to admit that if the change must be adopted, no better plan for its introduction into practice could be devised than that propounded by Mr. Macaulay and his colleagues. The letter in which they submitted their views is of so much interest, that we feel assured it is familiar to all our readers, and it therefore will only be necessary for us to notice its details in a very rapid manner.

The report then proposes two distinct examinations,—one for the selection of those candidates who shall prove themselves to have had the best general training, the other for determining whether these successful candidates have subsequently given themselves a prescribed special training. We will briefly consider these two leading features.

In connection with the first examination, two preliminary facts deserve notice. First, the age of eighteen years has been fixed as the lowest age at which candidates can be admitted to the competition. Second, the examination is confined to those branches of knowledge to which it is desirable that English gentlemen should pay attention. The first of these provisions will, in practice, have a still more stringent effect; for, although eighteen has been fixed as the lowest age, the Committee have plainly stated their opinion that except in very rare and extraordinary cases, no young man of eighteen will have any chance of success. The weight of metal will be against him, and he will be borne down by men of twenty-one or twenty-two. Thus, as stated in the report, nine-tenths of those who are admitted for probation will be older than nine-tenths of those who now leave for India, after what is intended for probation. We think it would be difficult to estimate too highly the advantage of this change. The progress which the mind makes between seventeen and twenty-three is the most important in the intellectual life of man. Under the Haileybury system too much of this precious time is cut to waste; it is consumed, not in healthful labour, but in mere stone-breaking, in mastering miserable dialects. Our Civilians are now sent out to India just when their minds are most susceptible of intellectual impressions,—when books, politics, law, philosophical discussion, the conversation of eminent men, begin to exercise a real influence on the formation of their mental

character. They are now left to seek these influences in a jungle. We have heard two objections advanced to the proposed alteration,—one, that men of twenty-three and twenty-five will have acquired confirmed English tastes, and be unwilling to settle down to Indian life, and to endure Indian manners. But they who make this objection should recollect that under the new régime, the Civilians will have chosen this life for themselves, they will have carved out their own destiny; and we may be assured that men of sense and spirit who have voluntarily chosen a path which they know will eventually lead to independence and, possibly, to distinction, will not be deterred by any obstacles of fastidiousness or sentiment from hewing out the narrow way before them. The other objection has also some plausibility,—that the new Civilians, on account of their advanced age, will not possess the same facility of acquiring the vernacular dialects as the present race. We believe this objection to be of little real worth. The new Civilians will not have the same facility, but will they not have equal, if not greater, *success*? For so much of the faculty of acquiring languages as depends on “ear,” and on the flexibility of organs, a young student has an advantage over his senior, but this superiority will be counterbalanced by the trained ability of the selected candidates. Missionaries afford an adequate proof that the Indian dialects can be thoroughly mastered by men who do not commence the study until comparatively mature age.

The other preliminary fact which deserves notice is, that the examination is confined to those subjects which imply, in its largest and most various sense, a good education. By this provision the Committee are careful to avoid that fatal defect which in practice the Haileybury system disclosed,—the confusion between a general and a special training. We quote an admirable paragraph, as clearly enunciating a principle for which we have always contended, and when we see the name of the present Principal of Haileybury attached to the Report, and believe, as we do, that Principal Le Bas would have held similar opinions, it is with no common pang of regret that we deplore that the truthful views thus indicated were not recognised in our day:—

“Nor do we think that we should render any service to India by inducing her future rulers to neglect, in their earlier years, European literature and science, for studies specially Indian. We believe that men who have been engaged up to one or two and twenty in studies which have no immediate connection with the business of any profession, and of which the effect is merely to open, to invigorate, and to enrich the mind, will generally be found, in the business of every profession, superior to men

who have at eighteen or nineteen devoted themselves to the special studies of their calling. The most illustrious English jurists have been men who have never opened a law-book till after the close of a distinguished academical career; nor is there any reason to believe that they would have been greater lawyers if they had passed in drawing pleas and conveyances the time which they gave to Thucydides, Cicero, and to Newton. The duties of a Civil Servant of the East India Company are of so high a nature, that in his case it is peculiarly desirable that an excellent general education, such as may enlarge and strengthen his understanding, should precede the special education which must qualify him to despatch the business of his Cutcherry."

To this masterly argument we will only add a single illustrative fact. The late Lord Abinger, the most accomplished "nisi prius" lawyer of his day,—perhaps, to a jury, the most successful advocate in the annals of the bar,—in compliance with the request of a friend, prepared a list of books which, in his opinion, should be studied by a young man preparing for the bar. At the head of the list stood "Cicero's Offices," with a note,—once, twice, thrice, once every year.

Having considered these preliminary facts, we approach the details of the prescribed examination. The prevailing characteristics of the scheme appear to be comprehensiveness, solidity, and fairness. There is no exclusive enforcement of the system of education under which the members of the Committee have themselves been trained and have obtained distinction. They recognise the truth of Dr. Whewell's position, "that Greek and Latin are peculiar and indispensable elements of a liberal education." They appreciate the admirable discipline of mathematical science. To omit such studies from the scheme would be unjust to all the great Schools, and to the Universities of England and Ireland. It would be worse: it would be a violation of the principles by which the highest species of education has been regulated throughout the civilised world. But, when paying due reverence to that genius whose empire over abstract thought, over civil government, over art, can never be wholly lost, the Committee have regarded in a liberal spirit the opinions of those who consider that the languages and the literature of modern civilisation have an equal claim on the attention of the student, and who hold that, for practical life, they have superior uses. But, in endeavouring to give to that civilisation its just value in the competition, it would be of obvious impropriety to omit the study of the natural sciences, some of which the spirit of "the inductive philosophy" has almost created; into all of which it has infused, the energy of a new, a loftier, a more intense vitality. Nor would the Committee, in surveying the influences

which, apart from the religious element, have most contributed to elevate the human intellect, fail to assign an exalted place to those tentative discussions in which men in all ages, from Idumean Emirs to German professors, have meditated on the mystery of their own being—"so fearfully and wonderfully made," and have essayed to excogitate the "why" and the "ought" of existence. The moral sciences are the domain in which the minds of two civilisations have laboured for the sacred ore of truth. At Oxford the great mine is approached through the exhaustive subtleties of the old "cross-examiner," as delivered to us by that disciple whose eloquence transcends all human praise, and the wondrous analysis of Aristotle. In the Scotch Universities the profound investigations of Locke, and Reid, and Hume, are reverently followed up. But both in Oxford and Edinburgh the wisdom of the old and new philosophy are employed to illustrate each other. To these studies the Committee have justly awarded an ample recognition. The chief place they have wisely given to the language, the history, and the literature of England. But that no form of intellectual accomplishment may be neglected, and that no species of education may be omitted, the Committee have introduced into their plan the classical languages of the East, Sanskrit and Arabic, the sources from which Hindus and Mahometans principally draw their religion, their jurisprudence, and their science. "Sanskrit," as Arnold has said, "has almost a domestic claim upon us as the oldest of our great Indo-Germanic family." In admitting it to the examination, the Committee, while avoiding the entanglement of Indian dialects, have paid due consideration to those who think that the study of the Eastern tongues is the best preparation for Eastern employments, and who have accordingly given that kind of instruction to their sons.

This noble scheme, which we confidently believe will exercise no little influence on the education of the United Kingdom, must not be supposed to encourage that "shabby superficiality" against which Sir James Stephen has entered his protest. The competition is various, but it is not expected or desired that candidates should present themselves for examination in many branches. The Committee have plainly stated that nothing can be farther from their wish than to hold out premiums for knowledge of wide surface and small depth. "A single paper," they say, "which shows that the writer thoroughly understands the principles of the differential calculus ought to tell more than twenty superficial and incorrect answers to questions about chemistry, botany, mineralogy, meta-

physics, logic, and English history." The various character of the test proposed has for its object the inducement to candidates, under every system of education, to come forward; not variety of knowledge in one, but diversity of power among the general body is the object in view. Canon Mosely, in his Minute on the re-organisation of the Home Civil Service, has expressed some doubts as to the propriety of confining the examination to those subjects which are usually included in the school education of England. He says : — " One type of education will come to be represented in the administration of public affairs, the idiosyncrasy of one class will pass upon it, and (to use an engineering phrase) it will continually be shunted on the rail of one class of thinkers." The justice of these observations we consider indisputable, and it is to remove such objections as this that the diverse character of the examination will efficiently operate.

The result of the first examination, with the questions proposed, has been published. The following are the twenty successful candidates, and the number of marks which each obtained : —

| | No. of Marks |
|--|--------------|
| 1. Wells Butler, of University College, London..... | 2254 |
| 2. W. Cornell, of Clare Hall, Cambridge..... | 1915 |
| 3. H. Reynolds, of King's College, Cambridge..... | 1795 |
| 4. W. Heeley, of Trinity College, Cambridge..... | 1649 |
| 5. R. Warrand, of Trinity College, Oxford..... | 1555 |
| 6. C. Aitchison, of the University of Edinburgh..... | 1522 |
| 7. R. Moss King, of Merton College, Oxford..... | 1181 |
| 8. J. Cordery, of Balliol College, Oxford..... | 1435 |
| 9. R. Pomeroy, of Trinity College, Cambridge..... | 1398 |
| 10. J. Peile, of Oriel College, Oxford..... | 1396 |
| 11. T. H. Thornton, of St. John's College, Oxford..... | 1381 |
| 12. Herbert Wilson, of Magdalen College, Cambridge.... | 1337 |
| 13. H. Bell, of Clare Hall, Cambridge..... | 1281 |
| 14. H. Perkins, of King's College School, London | 1275 |
| 15. J. D. Sandford, of Trinity College, Oxford..... | 1258 |
| 16. W. Jones, of University College, London..... | 1204 |
| 17. W. Ramsay, of Christ Church College, Oxford..... | 1183 |
| 18. J. Peddar, of Exeter College, Oxford..... | 1148 |
| 19. Raymond West, of Queen's College, Galway..... | 1134 |
| 20. C. Daly, of Queen's College, Cork..... | 1120 |

The total number of candidates was 141. Of these all were examined in English history and literature, 123 in Greek, 133 in Latin, 101 in mathematics, 99 in French, 73 in moral sciences, 40 in natural sciences, 30 in German, 19 in Italian, 2 in Sanskrit, and 1 in Arabic.

It will be seen that fourteen of the "emeriti" were from the two old Universities. This result has had the unusual effect of

making the *Examiner* lose its temper. That paper can only regard the competition as a means of handing over to two institutions, already suffering from a plethora of wealth, the magnificent patronage of the East. It has been girdling at Oxford for the last thirty years,—too often, we may admit, on sufficient grounds, but also too often without doing justice to the real intellectual activity of that University. But in a contest open to the whole kingdom, Oxford bears away the largest number of prizes. The fact is decisive. For such a system, burial with bonfire should be the sole and speedy fate.

Of the remaining six successful candidates, the London University may justly be proud that one of her sons, Mr. Wells Butler, obtained the first place by a triumphant majority. Of the fourteen competitors from Trinity College, Dublin, not one was elected,—a fact which will confirm an opinion long entertained by the best friends of the University, that its system of teaching requires reform. But the well-wishers of Ireland will find ample grounds for congratulation in the success of two candidates from those Colleges which moderate men of all parties combined to establish, which were honored with the approbation of Archbishop Murray of Dublin, and with the disapprobation of Archbishop McHale of Tuam.

As between Oxford and Cambridge, the result may recall the contest between Romulus and Remus, before Niebuhr dissipated that pleasant legend :—Remus saw the vultures first, but Romulus saw the greater number. Oxford has produced eight successful candidates out of nineteen—Cambridge only six out of thirty-two ; but three of the Cambridge candidates stand above any of the Oxford men. We presume that, as a literary augur, we must follow the precedent above stated, and assign the palm to Oxford. But there are circumstances which may explain this superiority. We understand—for we do not for a moment pretend to offer an opinion, ourselves—that the questions proposed by Mr. Stokes and Mr. Cayley, both of whom were senior wranglers in their respective years, were of so abstruse a character that many of the mathematical candidates at once declined the contest. We know from Mr. Vernon Smith's statement, that neither the best nor the second best of the mathematicians were elected ; while, on the other hand, the seven best classical scholars were successful. But the difficulty which tells on a good mathematician in an examination, and does not tell upon a classical scholar, is, that the labour of the latter is never thrown away. He pretty soon sees whether he can or cannot translate a "tough passage," and

whether he can or cannot answer a question relative to a matter of fact; but, on the other hand, a mathematician may toil a whole morning over a single problem, and not conquer it at last. These circumstances, we have no doubt, operated to the disadvantage of Cambridge in the contest.

As the mathematical examination was too difficult, so it appears to us the classical examination was too easy,—that is to say, we do not think a first-rate scholar had sufficient opportunity of evincing his superiority over a third-rate scholar. We think the latter, if recently in harness, must have been able to obtain a considerable number of the marks allowed. The beautiful chorus in the *Antigone* of Sophocles, “O thou that art named by many names, the joy of the Theban nymph,” was probably known almost by heart to all the one hundred and twenty-three candidates. So also the other passage from Greek poetry which was set,—the description of the ninth and tenth sub-divisions of the “Shield of Achilles,” in one of which a vintage, and in the other a herd of oxen attacked by lions when proceeding to pasture, are represented,—was too familiar. Both the passages have difficulties; the one from Homer, indeed, is what boys call “a stiff bit”; but all the difficulties have been drummed into young gentlemen before they leave school. So also in Latin, one of the passages given was the scene in the 11th Book of the *Æneid*, in which Camilla pursues Chlorens, the ex-priest of Cybele, and is herself pursued by Aruns. In this, the only difficulty is in the description of the priest’s dress, who appears to have paid a High-Church attention to costume, and to have devoted a considerable portion of his savings to gold, purple, lawn, and raiment of needle-work. But this passage, and the noble invective against Nero from Juvenal’s 8th Satire, which was also given, would, we think, be too well known to all the candidates to be proper tests in such an examination.

We have been informed that Sir James Stephen was astonished to find how badly the candidates generally acquitted themselves in English history. The fact points to a defect in the routine education of our schools, which defect is in some measure enhanced by a peculiar circumstance. As a general rule, all that a boy knows, when he leaves school, of English history, has been derived from Goldsmith or some other abridgment, aided by the light thrown on particular periods by some historical novels. When as a young man he begins to think that really he must obtain some more profound knowledge, he sits down resolutely to Hume and Smollett. Let us suppose him to

have "got up" these carefully : we much doubt whether he would have been able to answer more than one or two of Sir J. Stephen's questions. But let him have given the same attention to Hallam's two great works, and we will answer for it the professor would not have had to complain of his ignorance. The pernicious influence of Hume on English history was discussed some years ago in the *Quarterly Review*, in an article written, we believe, by Sir Francis Palgrave, a most competent authority. It is to this influence must be referred the remarkable fact that accomplished Englishmen, who have mastered the history of other nations,—who know all about the Fronde, and can discourse ably on Guelf and Ghibelin, white and black,—who are even somewhat deep in the hardy institutions of Castile and Arragon, have so little real knowledge of the history of their own country. Hume has splendid passages, but he omits almost as much as he tells. Lingard is able, acute, and singularly laborious,—in fact, his history is admirable ; but then we are rather afraid of him.

The subjects for English composition proposed by Sir J. Stephen,—the problem in Strafford's case as to penalties of death by retrospective acts of the Legislature ; the dialogue in 1674 between Clarendon and Burnet, and the letter of the Jacobite agent in London to his friend in the country on the receipt of the news of the Pretender's arrival at Derby,—are excellent ; but we think many of Mr. Temple's questions very objectionable. For instance, " Compare the character of Shylock with that of Barabbas in Marlowe's Jew of Malta." We will undertake to say that Mr. Temple himself never commenced his study of the old dramatists until after he had taken his degree. To put such a question to young men fresh from college, was to suppose that they had been substituting a peculiar and remote kind of reading for their proper studies, whether voluntary or prescribed. Again, " Compare the Utopia of Sir T. More with the Nova Atlantis of Bacon." We should like to know how many young men have read the Utopia, except by accident. The notice of the book in Sir J. Mackintosh's Life of More is sufficiently full to enable a candidate to make some kind of answer to the question ; and perhaps an eccentric college tutor, as an out-of-the-way kind of exercise, may have given passages to his pupils in order that they might convert the Erasmian Latin into pure Ciceronian ; but this sort of second-hand knowledge of the book was, we are certain, never contemplated by Mr. Temple. He probably is as much opposed as his colleagues to "shabby superficiality." We must also object to what may be called the astronomical parts

of Milton being offered for the explanation of candidates ; and we do not greatly admire the encouragement given to such books as "Elegant Extracts," by calling on young men "to write out" Johnson's celebrated comparison of Dryden and Pope."

We must now pass on to the second principal division of the plan, for which we have left ourselves but little space. The Committee propose that the selected candidates now called probationers, shall undergo a special training for their future duties. Their studies, they propose, shall be comprehended under four great divisions—law, political economy, the history of India, and the vernacular languages. Their progress in these divisions is to be tested by a second examination, according to success in which the rank of the probationers in the Civil Service will be finally determined.

The knowledge of law, the Committee state, shall be acquired, not merely from attendance on lectures, or the perusal of well-chosen books on jurisprudence, but from observing the actual working of the machinery by which justice is administered. The probationers ought "to hear legal questions, in which great principles are involved, argued by the ablest counsel and decided by the highest courts in the realm. They ought to draw up reports of the arguments both of the advocates and of the judges. They ought to attend both civil and criminal trials, and to take notes of the evidence, and of the discussions and decisions respecting the evidence. It might be particularly desirable that they should attend the sittings of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, when important appeals from India are under the consideration of that tribunal. A probationer, while thus employed, should regularly submit his notes of arguments, and of evidence, to his legal instructor for correction."

As to political economy, the Committee state, "We think that any probationer ought to prepare himself for the discharge of his duties by paying some attention to financial and commercial science. He should understand the mode of keeping and checking accounts, the principles of banking, the laws which regulate the exchanges, the nature of public debts, funded and unfunded, and the effect produced by different systems of taxation on the prosperity of nations. We would by no means require him to subscribe any article of faith touching any controverted point in the science of political economy ; but it is not too much to expect that he will make himself acquainted with those treatises on political economy which have become standard works."

In the division of the history of India, the views of the Committee are thus set forth :—

“The probationer should make himself well acquainted with the history of India, in the largest sense of the word History. He should study that history, not merely in the works of Orme, of Wilks, and of Mill, but also in the travels of Bernier, in the odes of Sir William Jones, and in the journals of Heber. He should be well informed about the geography of the country, about its natural productions, about its manufactures, about the physical and moral qualities of the different races which inhabit it, and about the doctrines and rites of those religions which have so powerful an influence on the population. He should trace with peculiar care the progress of the British power. He should understand the constitution of our Government, and the nature of the relations between that Government and its vassals, Mussulman, Mahratta, and Rajpoot. He should consult the most important parliamentary reports and debates on Indian affairs.”

Lastly, as to the vernacular languages, the Committee state :—

“We think that the study of the vernacular languages of India may, with great advantage, be begun in England. It is, indeed, only by intercourse with the native population that an Englishman can acquire the power of talking Bengalee or Telugu with fluency. But familiarity with the Bengalee or Telugu alphabet, skill in tracing the Bengalee or Telugu character, and knowledge of the Bengalee or Telugu grammar, may be acquired as quickly in this country as in the East. Nay, we are inclined to believe that an English student will, at his first introduction to an Indian language, make more rapid progress under good English teachers than under pundits to whom he is often unable to explain his difficulties.”

There can, we think, be no doubt that a young man who, after gaining an appointment in the competition, shall devote himself to these four divisions of study, will eventually be a most accomplished and a most useful member of the Civil Service. We cannot imagine in theory a more effective preparation. But we greatly fear that too much is here attempted; and, although a young man of ability may acquit himself with credit in the four examinations, his acquirements will be of a superficial and “*pro hac vice*” character. For the study of law two years is a very small term, and very little real progress will be made if the student is encumbered with the necessity of mastering the details of commercial and financial science, the standard treatises on political economy, the history of India in its largest sense, and a native language. He may store his memory with facts, and be enabled at the examination, with the tact of one who has frequently undergone such ordeals, to induce a belief that he knows more than he really does know; but there can be no time for reflection, no time for obtaining by the exercise of reasoning a just knowledge of principles. His acquirements will be as arms and mail, probably of inferior temper, cumbrous, ill-fitting, ill adapted for particular

exigencies, in the use of which he is inexpert ; instead of that accession of mental power and energy which will render him equal to all emergencies.

The most patent defect in the present administration of India is the judicial system. We may not consider that Mr. Norton's pamphlet, able and acute as it is, is exactly a just representation of the procedure of our judges and magistrates. We may suggest that by a similar mode of argumentation, a "damaging case might be got up against the judges of England. We may be content to balance against Sir E. Perry's evidence before the Committee of the Houses of Parliament, the dedication of his translation of Von Savigny on Possession. We may scornfully reject the insinuation of certain partisans wishing to make political capital out of India, that our judges and magistrates have directly or indirectly countenanced those cruelties which subordinate agents in the East have always been too ready to employ for the extortion of confessions. We may urge that if any credence were to be ~~attached to the statements of these gentlemen~~, it might be imagined that the Adawlut of India were like that gloomy region surrounded by Phlegethon, in which the Trojan prince heard groans and the lash, and the grating of iron, and the dragging of chains ; that our session-judges ~~followed the stern procedure of the~~ inexorable judge who held his court in that terrible domain.

"Grossius hæc Radamanthus habet durissima regna,
Castigatque, auditque dolos ; subigitque fateri
Quæ quis apud superos," &c. &c.

Although convinced that Radamanthus kept down his criminal file with laudable efficiency, and that during his long residence in Crete he had ample experience in dealing with shifty witnesses, we may emphatically state that, notwithstanding our judges have to encounter a race whose veneration for truth is no greater than that of the Cretans, they do not adopt the process of the Puisno of Tartarus—that they do not compel prisoners to confess. We may urge all these pleas ; we may not entirely agree with Mr. Norton, who does know something of India ; we entirely differ from those Philo-Industanic members who know nothing about India. Yet we should evince very little candour if we did not admit that our judicial administration was susceptible of very great improvement. It is, therefore, with no little dread we contemplate the probability that a measure, having in view the reform most needed, will fail, from being entangled and overlaid with other provisions.

In considering which of the prescribed divisions might be con-

veniently omitted, we would advocate first the abandonment of the native languages. We have not the same objection to this branch of study under the altered circumstances in which the probationers stand, as we had in connection with the students of Haileybury. In the probationers we recognise men who have had the best general training; and the only question which remains is, by what teaching can they be rendered most fit for their future duties? At Haileybury the case was widely different. We can, therefore, perfectly understand the feeling of those who consider that when young men of ability have been secured, it is abundantly necessary they should at once commence the study of the languages, without a practical knowledge of which they will never achieve success in India. We allow considerable weight to this argument, but are still inclined to take a different view. The languages can be best learnt in India. What advantage has a man who comes out to India with a fair knowledge of one of the dialects, over a man who comes out entirely ignorant of any? Perhaps four months—certainly not more, and very probably less. This does not appear to us an advantage which can compensate for the interruption caused in the study of the law, which can be undertaken nowhere so well as in England.

We would also—though with great reluctance, and only out of deference to the paramount claims of law—omit the division of “political economy inclusive of commercial and financial science.” We think that, under all the circumstances, the new Civilians must obtain their knowledge of these subjects, as the members of other professions do, by private study, in the course of that second education which, as Gibbon states, every man who rises at all above the mass of his fellow-men, gives himself. We would retain the division which relates to the history of India; and in this and in the study of law, the examination should be searching and severe.

There is one point, before we close our somewhat desultory observations on the competition for the Civil Service, to which we must not forget to allude,—the effect which the alteration will have on the interests of the natives of this country. We have of course no sympathy with the opinion of Lord Ellenborough, that we must be cautious to what extent our native fellow-subjects are educated, lest our supremacy be endangered. On the contrary, we hold it to be the duty of England to bear itself towards this country as to a possession which it only holds in trust, and which is eventually to be transferred to the natural owners. At the same time, we have no respect for

the opinions of those who, having no responsibility connected with India, merely make its affairs a topic for declamation, and advocate the exaggerated claims of young India. These are neither the friends of India, nor the friends of England. It is very necessary that the natives of this country should understand that that progress alone is safe, which is gradual. Swift maturity and swift decay are almost cause and effect. In the government of India there are two agencies, the European and the Native. If the more valuable and important share of the administration be not reserved for the foreign agency, that agency will either become degenerate, or it will seek a better market for its capital and energy. Should the latter course be adopted, we might ask, in the vein of the late Field Marshal the Duke of Wellington, "how the other agency proposes to carry on the government of the country." To this question, we doubt not that at some distant day a satisfactory answer will be given. But until that time shall arrive, we think that all wise men, more for the sake of the Natives than of the English, will, in all measures introduced for the benefit of India, bear in mind the paramount necessity which exists for the maintenance of a strong government. In regarding, then, the plan of opening the Civil Service to competition from this point of view,—its influence on native interests,—we think that the scheme, while it causes no injury, certainly does not confer much immediate improvement. The Natives are rendered eligible for the Civil Service, it is true: but somewhat in the same way as Mr. Micawber was told, that when called to the bar, he would be eligible for the woollack. We do not think that in the present state of education, the natives of this country can be expected to stand up in an intellectual contest against the picked alumni of Great Britain and Ireland. We should prefer some plan by which a certain proportion of appointments in the Civil Service was reserved, or created, for Natives of high administrative ability. For instance, in the case of Bombay, the appointment on liberal salaries of four Joint Judges and four Joint Collectors, with an additional Judge of the Sudder, and an additional Revenue Commissioner, selected purely on account of merit, would, we have no doubt, give an extraordinary impetus to the Native Service, and be regarded as a far more substantial boon than any illusory opening of the Covenanted Service to native competition.

But taking the scheme of competition in its integrity, and regarding its probable influence in England and in India, we would say in conclusion, that it has our earnest and hearty

approval. It appears to us one of those great public improvements which form an era in history. It is a fruit of that seed which was sown by the illustrious statesman who, on the 11th of February 1780, submitted to the wisdom of Parliament "a plan of reform in the constitution of several parts of the public economy." Its character is of the wisest economy. The Civil Service of India offers most liberal emoluments. The great object of the present measure is, that those emoluments shall work out the legitimate end of securing the ablest administrators. The reform was due to England, to the ambition of whose youth these honorable prizes are now offered. It was doubly due to India. The empire which owns the sway of Victoria is, in all that constitutes real greatness, superior to that which obeyed the rescripts of Hadrian, or that which yearly poured the spoils of Mexico at the feet of Philip the Second. Conquest was colonisation to Rome. Colonisation has been, and may it ever be, conquest to England. But that the triumphs of England may endure, the philosophy, which teaches by examples, points like the slave in the victor's car to that country, once glorious in genius and arms, which invested a Cortez, with the lordship of the Oaxacan valley, which sent forth a Lope in its Armada. It contrasts the magnificence of Spain and the Indies, —of the realms on which the sun never sets,—with the degenerate kingdom which has added one more ruin to the desolate empires on the solemn shores of the Mediterranean. It speaks the awful lesson, "See the product of misgovernment!—such have ever been the results when sordid interests are preferred to the common good of all." A more sacred duty was never imposed on any nation than England owes to her great dependency. She can suffer no class interests to interfere with its complete performance. She must say to India, "We have given you our best." If it be true that nations, like the human frame, after a certain maturity of prosperity, suffer an inevitable decay, the material greatness of England will decline; but there are indestructible glories over which time cannot prevail, and among them, it may be, will be the memory that she turned back the course of civilisation to the rising sun—that she regenerated India.

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